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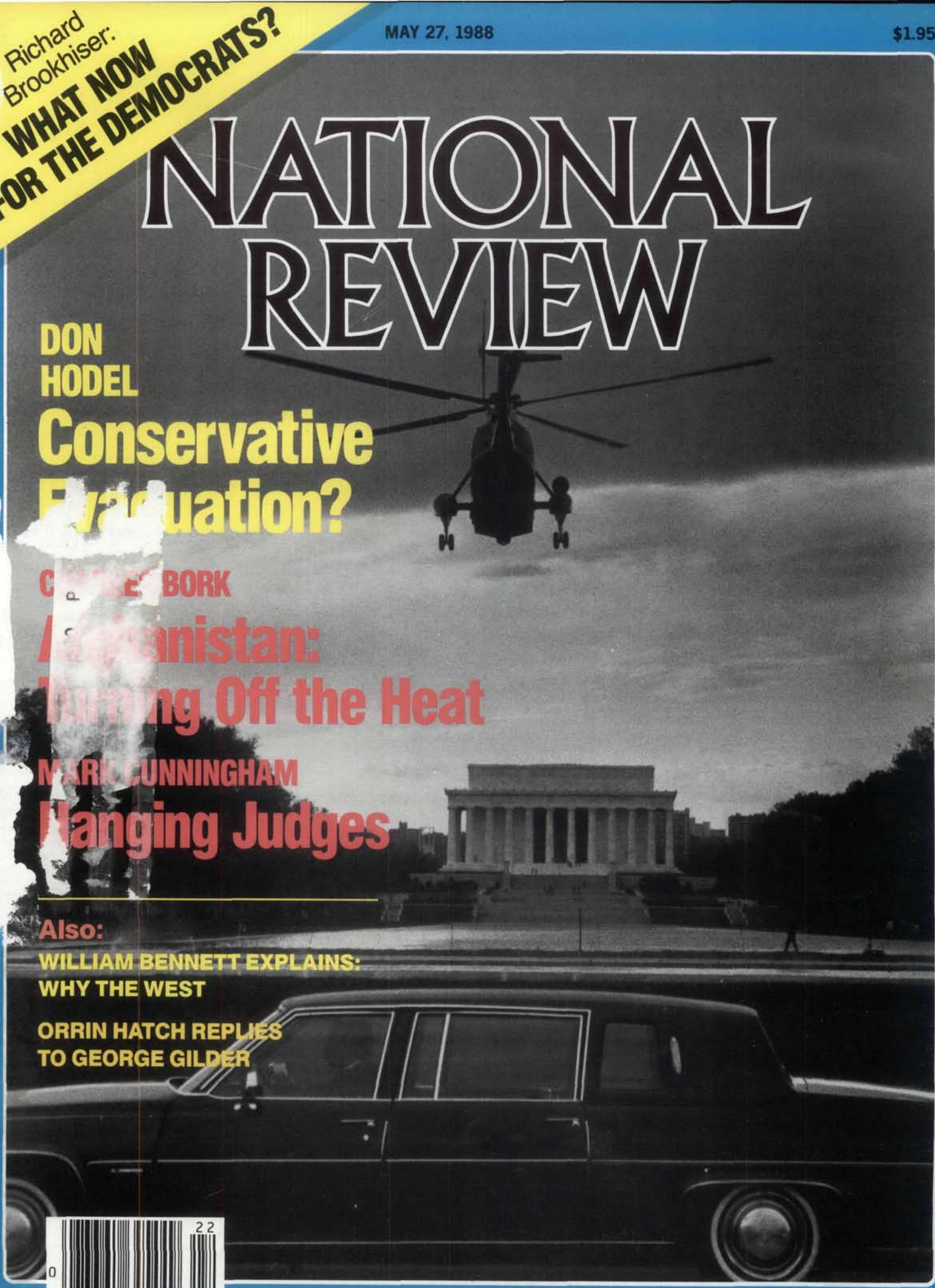

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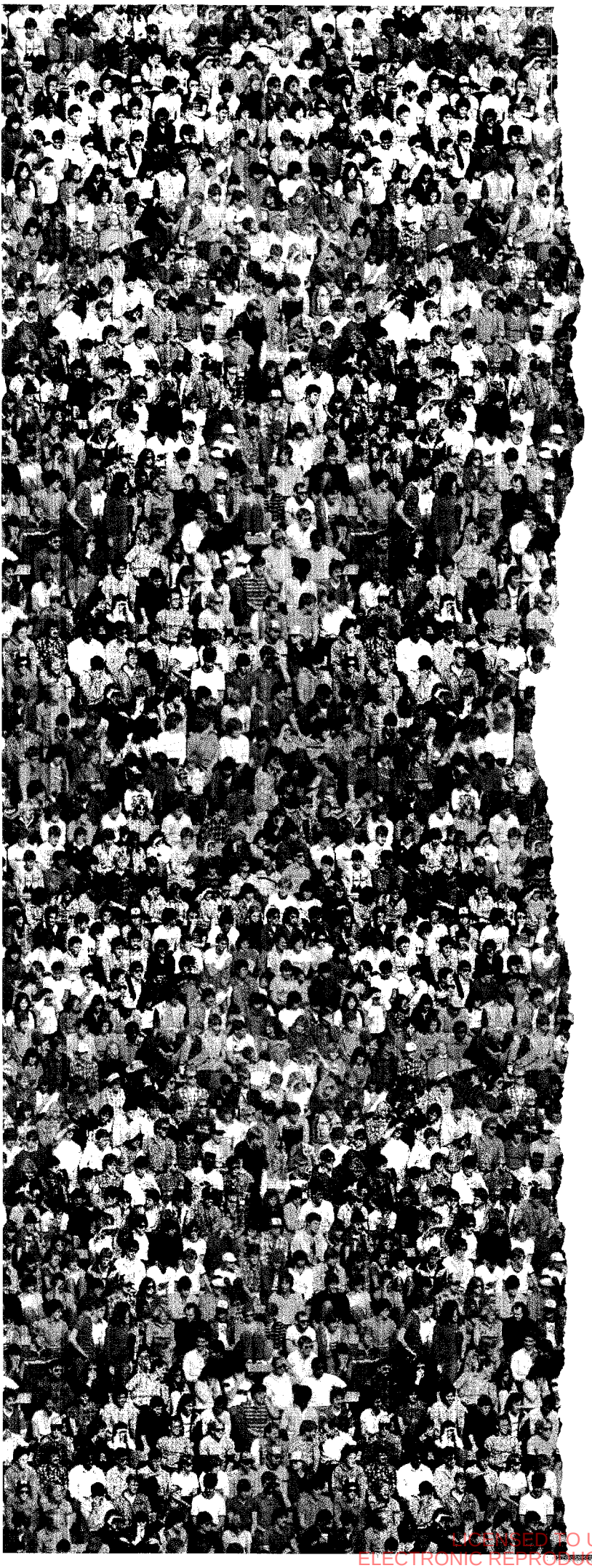

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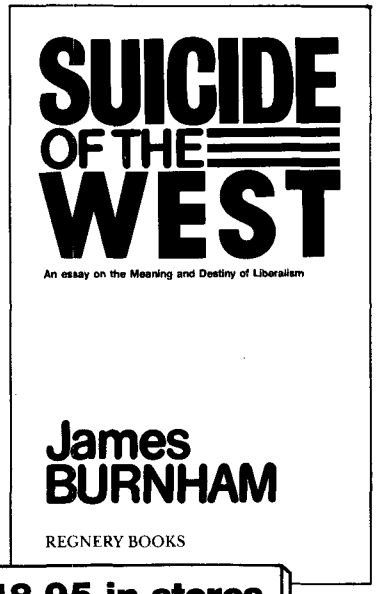

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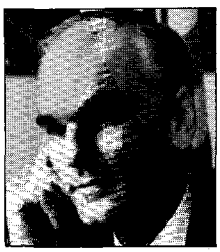
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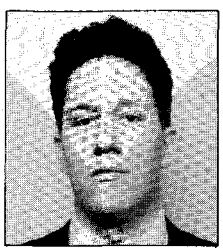
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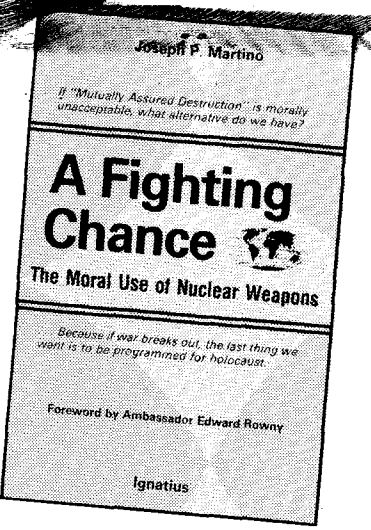
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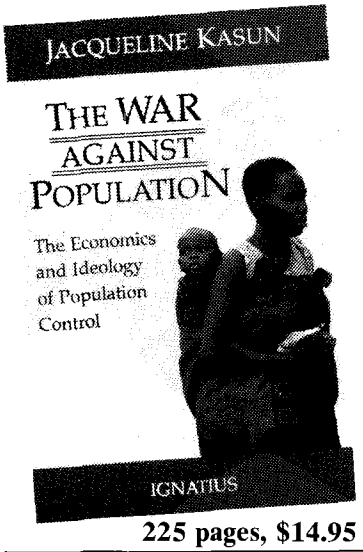

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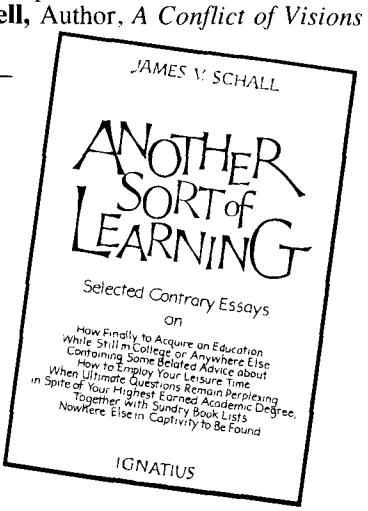
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LETTERS

No Day Care, No Job

It's hardly a revelation that almost any child is better off being raised at home than in a day-care center ["An Open Letter to Orrin Hatch" and "Socialized Motherhood: As Easy as ABC," May 13]. But what Mr. Gilder and Mrs. Marshner fail to realize is that giving "tax deductions and credits" to allow a mother the choice of staying at home or hiring outside care means nothing to a minimum-wage working woman with three children and no husband or secondary caretaker. If legislation like the Act for Better Child Care fails to become law, we as a society will leave unmarried mothers with the choice of a) staying home and living off the public dole or b) abandoning their children to a day-care system that Mr. Gilder admits is dangerously inadequate. Some choice.

Marion Brooks
St. Louis, Mo.

Too Quick with the Penn

When John McLaughlin discounts Richard Thornburgh in the GOP "Veepstakes" [Apr. 29], one can only hope the actual decision is not based on such a shallow assessment. Lieutenant Governor William Scranton did not lose the gubernatorial race because Thornburgh could not "command his own state." No, Scranton lost because his own views were sufficiently out of line that he wasn't able to run on Thornburgh's coattails. The abortion issue has been critical in Pennsylvania politics in recent years, and Democrat Robert Casey ran on a morally conservative platform while Scranton was pro-choice. This one issue swung many Republicans into Casey's camp.

Matthew Strange
Mansfield, Pa.

Ad-ed Evidence

William Marshner declares ["Letters," Apr. 15] that my politely critical review of *Cultural Conservatism* "fantasizes maliciously" and describes it as the work of "a misanthrope in an opium dream." If my interpretation is a fantasy, then it is a mass delusion, since similar points have been made in the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Washington Times*.

Marshner insists that what he is calling "cultural conservatism" does not constitute a significant departure from the conservative mainstream. Ironically, just opposite his uncivil and overheated letter is a full-page ad for the book with the bold headline (in 94-point type): A CHANGE IS COMING. The authors should make up their collective mind.

Thomas Fleming
Rockford, Ill.

Concluding the Trilogy

I am, of course, sorry that William P. Bundy and Norman B. Hannah ["Letters," Mar. 18, Apr. 1] disagreed with my review of the latter's *Key to Failure: Laos and the Vietnam War* [Feb. 19] and—as I have no taste for what are essentially émigré politics—will try to keep my reply succinct.

Bundy, Hannah, and I presumably share three historical hypotheses:

1. The war in Vietnam was militarily botched, not because of lack of dedication or heroism by our forces but because from the outset our strategy was grievously misconceived.

2. If the British had seized Gallipoli in 1913, the disastrous campaign of 1915-16 would have been averted and czarist Russia provided with adequate wartime supplies by the short Mediterranean route.

3. If, after Belgium denounced its military alliance with France on October 14, 1936, the French had pushed the Maginot Line to the North Sea, Hitler's 1940 *Blitzkrieg* would probably have been checked.

So much for common ground; now to our differences. Hannah emphasizes that putting a strong ground-combat force in the Laotian panhandle in 1964 would have made a crucial change in later developments. He may be right, although I have problems figuring out how it would have been adequately supplied; at that time we had no railhead, roadhead, beachhead, or airhead in the neighborhood. But this is *de minimis*: the real point is that anyone who believes that in the middle of a presidential campaign Lyndon B. Johnson was going to take preemptive action of this caliber would—as the Duke of Wellington said when someone greeted him as Mr. Smith—"believe anything."

He and Bill Bundy both wave aside my point about the vulnerability of Thailand to a North Vietnamese riposte, suggesting that our air and artillery assets could handle an invasion. Again,

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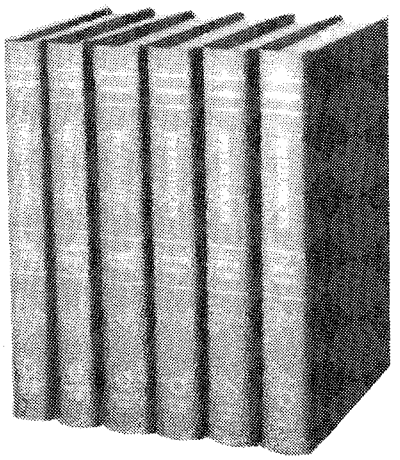

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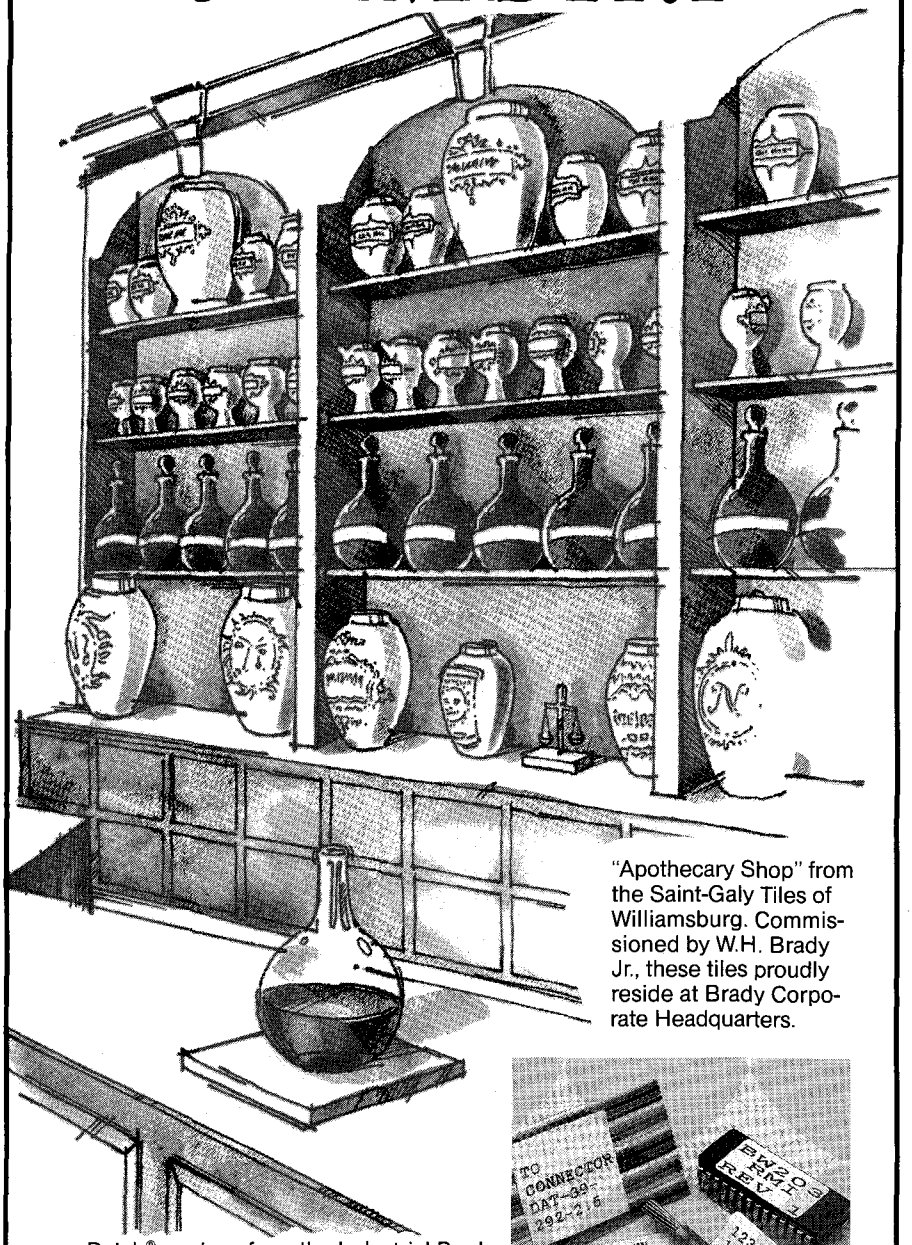

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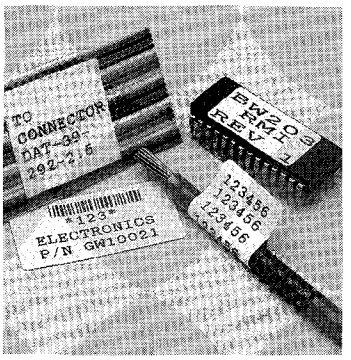

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how would we have gotten "formidable air and artillery" to defend the Mekong? It's a long way from Bangkok to Savannakhet, and the countryside is not unlike the areas of Cambodia—Stung Treng and Kratie provinces—which provided the PAVN with its access route to Phnom Penh despite our ferocious bombardment. I find it a bit ironic that Bill, with whom I shared views on the limitations of airpower, appears to have joined the "air marshals." The perimeter defenses of any firebases on the Mekong would probably have utilized several divisions, and the Thai army was dominated by political types who were allergic to leaving the city limits of Bangkok.

Which brings me to a baffling point: Bundy and Hannah seem to assume Hanoi would have been terrified of invading Thailand, even though the PAVN had internal lines of communication and a spectacular talent for providing protected logistical support over long, rough stretches of terrain. Hannah suggests they quivered when they contemplated a full-scale SEATO response. A what? Did he expect the Brits, French, and Pakistanis to come roaring into the breach the moment a PAVN soldier set foot on Thai soil?

SEATO was dead at birth. Indeed, I recall the efforts Bill Bundy and I expended in the fall of 1966 to ensure that SEATO's Secretary General Vargas did *not* sneak into the Manila Summit of the nations committed to fighting in Vietnam. He wanted to be there, but Ambassador Graham Martin in Bangkok managed somehow to leash him—the Thais may even have put him under house arrest. In sum, Ho Chi Minh, Pham Van Dong, and General Giap lost about as much sleep worrying over intervention by SEATO as they did from fear of the Holy Roman Empire.

Impenitent then, S/Sgt. Blimp stands pat on his openers and most particularly on the proposition argued by both Bruce Palmer and Harry Summers, that as a precondition to any strategy you have to have an order of battle capable of implementing it and a politically secure home front. For reasons I discussed here *in extenso* in May 1985, from the outset of American involvement in Vietnam both were lacking. Concerning the 1962 "neutralization" of Laos, about which Hannah raises such a windstorm, he and Averell Harriman are the only people I've ever heard of who took it as more than a fig leaf covering our military weakness.

John P. Roche
Medford, Mass.

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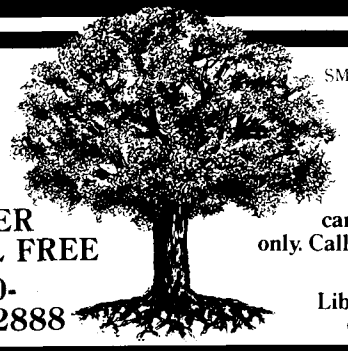

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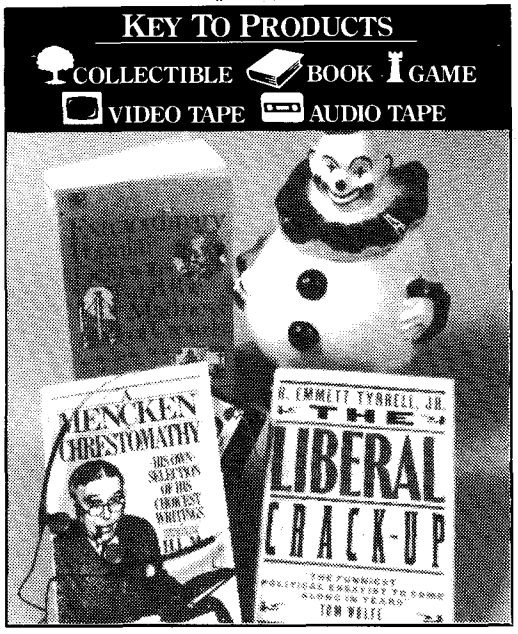

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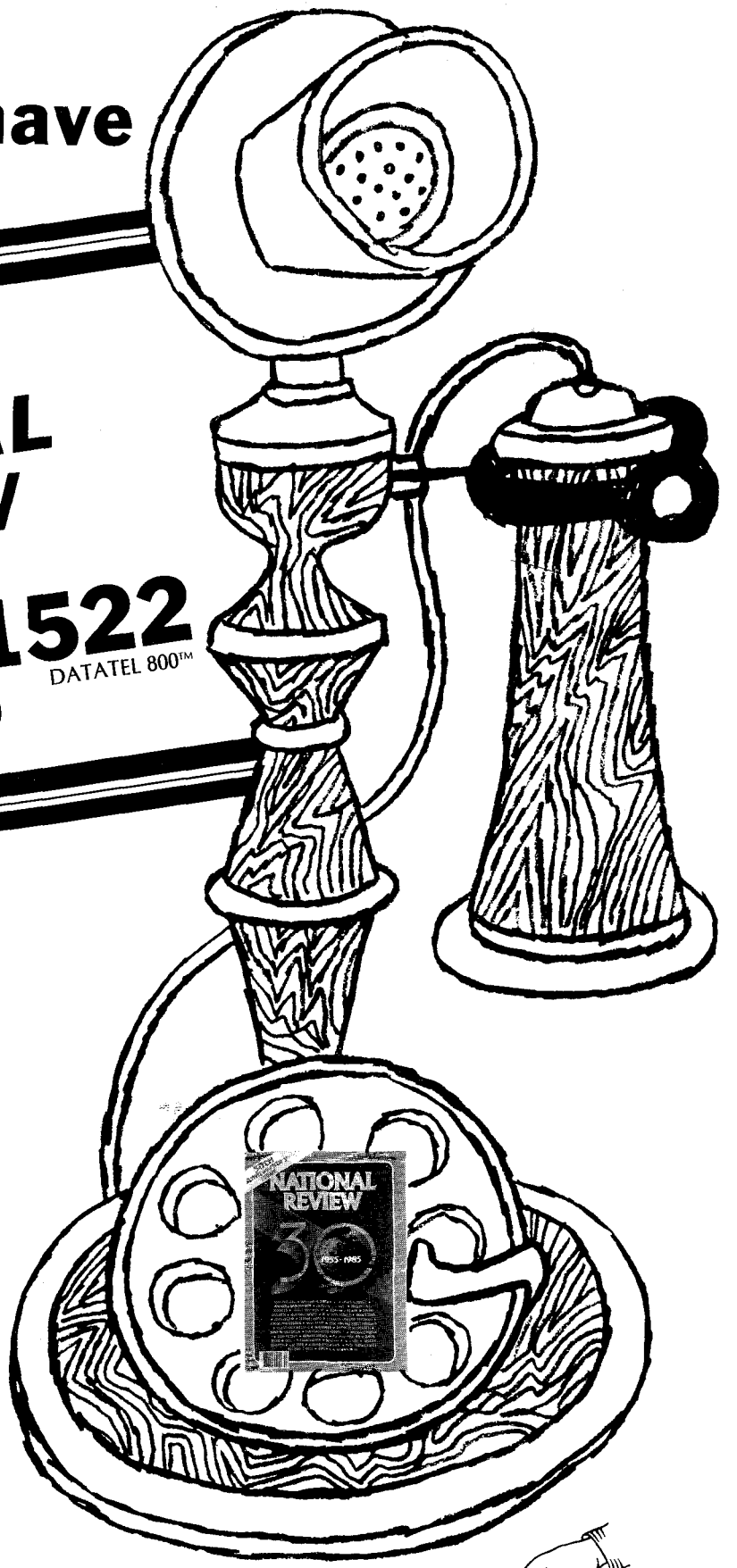

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FOR THE RECORD

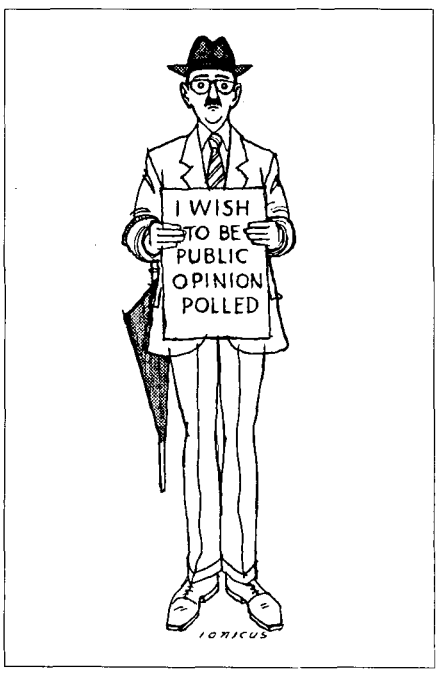
As expected, **Michael Dukakis** steamrolled **Jesse Jackson** in Indiana, Ohio primaries, and Jackson ran all over Dukakis in Washington, D.C., where 70 per cent of voters are black (and only 8 per cent of registered voters are Republican). . . . With Dukakis now headed for quasi-certain nomination, **Kevin Phillips** commented that the race was like "watching paint dry. The candidate-charisma barometer hasn't been this low since **Calvin Coolidge** beat out **John W. Davis** in 1924." . . . Major worry of Dukakis camp continues to be Jackson's reaction to these drumfire defeats. Will he now sharpen his attacks on the Duke, as he did after New York, inflicting permanent post-primary damage? And will blacks demand a place on ticket for Jackson? Recent *Newsweek* is ominous on subject. It says 20 per cent of blacks plan to vote Republican or not vote at all if Jackson is not on ticket. . . . **Paul Kirk** and other big shots at Democratic National Committee shaken by suggestion of Mayor **Flynn** of Boston that a black should be on ticket "even if that means that we lose the election." Commented political consultant **Stephen Hess** about Flynn's statement: "On that score, I wonder what he is smoking." No. He's running for re-election in Boston, where there is a heavy black vote. . . . The gloves are coming off. **L. Brent Bozell III**, executive director of the Conservative Victory Party, says his group is raising big money to expose Dukakis as a leftist. "We're not going to let Mike Dukakis get away with sounding like a conservative." . . . *Boston Globe* columnist **Bella English** abandoned *Globe*'s pro-Dukakis stance to have a little fun. "Every time I read *Pinocchio* to my daughter I think about Dukakis. Except that Pinocchio, the wooden puppet, turns into a real person at the end." . . . What liberal columnist **Jimmy Breslin** says he can't stand about Dukakis is that he's a bore. "I have met tens of thousands of ex-alcoholics and many ex-criminals," writes Breslin, "but never in my life have I met an ex-bore."

Also as expected, Sen. **Howard Metzenbaum** won easy renomination in Ohio Democratic primary and all reports have him increasing his lead over Republican Mayor **George Voinovich** of Cleveland in that Senate race. . . . In Indiana, **Evan Bayh**, son of the former liberal senator, will be the Democratic gubernatorial candidate this year. . . . In California, Democratic Lt. Gov. **Leo McCarthy** made bad tactical error when he invited **Helen Caldicott**, the pacifist, to speak in his behalf. In stemwinder address, Mrs. Caldicott compared **Mikhail Gorbachev** to **Jesus Christ**, called former Pentagon hard-liner **Richard Perle** "a war criminal," and threatened never to return to California if McCarthy isn't elected to **Pete Wilson**'s Senate seat. Post-Caldicott polls show Wilson pulling even further ahead.

The Left at Work: Communist Party is orchestrating nationwide peace rallies with biggest demonstrations planned for San Francisco and New York on June 11. New York organizer is National Coalition in Support of the Third UN Special Session on Disarmament. Also involved is Jesse Jackson staffer **Jack O'Dell**. . . . From May 21 to June 3, reports the radical *Guardian*, "U.S. veterans outraged by the Reagan Administration's Contra war in Nicaragua" will travel through scores of cities picking up humanitarian items for "Nicaraguan children suffering from the consequences of the Contra wars." . . . A high-school class in Illinois visiting Communist Party district headquarters, was told by party member **Scott Marshall**: "Today in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the workers are electing their managers. Can you imagine Chrysler workers electing **Lee Iacocca** if they had the choice?" . . . And at Smith College Commencement Weekend program lists time and place for a meeting of "Feminist and/or Lesbian Alumnae."

The Claremont Institute, Philadelphia Society, and Lehrman Institute will hold conference on future of American conservatism at Waldorf-Astoria in NYC June 3-4, attending publication of *Keeping the Tablets*, an anthology of American conservative thought edited by **William F. Buckley Jr.** and **Charles R. Kesler**. For info: Claremont Institute, 4650 Arrow Highway, Suite D-6, Montclair, Calif. 91763. . . . ISI is renewing its summer-school program with "The Re-opening of the American Mind" at Catholic University, June 5-10. Among the faculty: Sen. Phil Gramm, Rev. **Stanley L. Jaki**, Charles Kesler, **Russell Kirk**, **William Kristol**. (ISI, 14 South Bryn Mawr Ave., Bryn Mawr, Pa. 19010.)

How's That Again Dept.? from Media Watch's "Notable Quotables" column. **Connie Chung**, NBC Nightly News, April 1: "The nation's unemployment rate fell a tenth of 1 per cent in March to 5.6 per cent. That's the lowest it's been since May of 1979. But this low unemployment rate is not entirely good news. Fewer people are looking for work."



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THE WEEK

☐ The most evasive yes of the week was ventured by Chairman Rostenkowski of the House Ways and Means Committee, who when asked if he was being evasive about the trade bill replied, "Maybe I am. Maybe I'm not."

☐ Conservatives should not mistake, as some have, Congress's act to indemnify Japanese-Americans for just another move in the game of guilt-trip racial politics. The Constitution forbids the taking of liberty and property without due process of law, meaning individual trial and proof of personal guilt. The Federal Government did just that: deprived 120,000 U.S. citizens of liberty and property without trial. The sixty thousand living victims of mass incarceration and expropriation are to be paid a modest $20,000 each for their three years of wrongful imprisonment. They are to be compensated as individuals, not as members of a race; the reparation won't drain the national treasury dry, and nobody is being asked to wear a hair shirt. The government is merely making belated amends for directly breaking one of the basic pledges of its founding. By the way, the chief responsible official was Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the chief enforcer was Earl Warren.

☐ GNP grew at a 2.3 per cent annual rate during the first three months of this year, making this the 22nd consecutive quarter of economic growth. Business investment was up 21 per cent, as many industries expanded capacity, a trend that augurs well for continued low inflation. Consumer spending, which had actually fallen 3.8 per cent during the last quarter of 1987, rose at this rate during the most recent quarter. The stock-market crash appears to have had only a small and temporary impact on consumer confidence, prompting most economic forecasters to raise their GNP forecasts for 1988. Business inventories fell $2.6 billion in the latest quarter, after rising an exceptionally large $35.9 billion in the fourth quarter, and government spending was down by 10 per cent, primarily due to a decline in farm subsidy payments. Exports were up 22 per cent while imports climbed only 11.1 per cent. In general, the pattern of growth during the first three months of the year suggests the probability of sustained economic growth, moderate inflation, and continued reductions in the unemployment rate.

☐ As the major media keep pouring out stories of 13-year-old crack dealers making as much in a week as an honest editorial writer makes in a year, we have to agree with HHS Secretary Otis Bowen, against President Reagan, that the war on drugs doesn't appear to be entering its final stages. *Time* reports that in Detroit, drug programs are treating addicts as young as six. *Six*. The drug problem may provide the grimmest lesson yet in the irrepressibility of market forces. Remember the good old days of grass and LSD?

☐ How goes the end-game of the Reagan Administration? For Daniel Oliver, Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, it's going just swell, thanks. Last month, before a conference of the Cato Institute, he advised Anthony Frank, the new Postmaster General, to de-monopolize the Postal Service. "It will not make you popular. You won't be wined and dined in Georgetown, or sit in the posh boxes at the Kennedy Center. But you didn't come here from California for that, did you? The food, and certainly the wine, is better in California. As, surely, is the entertainment." A fortnight later, at the Heritage Foundation, he took aim at Democrats glooming over the economy. "While the poor and unemployed no doubt are frustrated, there are fewer of them today than when Ronald Reagan took office. Why? Because under Ronald Reagan, the political system found a non-explosive way of solving its problems. It's called . . . economic growth." What does that have to do with the FTC? Chairman Oliver

Those Early Polls

I know I mustn't fret because,
For now, he's far ahead;
I know we've got a data base
To blast him out of bed;
I know they're taking polls for which
Few pundits care to vouch,
But if the slate's Dukakis-Nunn,
I'll need a fainting couch.

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

Is Elliot Abrams on his way out? Secretary of State George Shultz continues to stand by his man, but top White House officials have long been irritated with Abrams's handling—they call it mishandling—of U.S. policy in Nicaragua. They were particularly angered when he stiffened the hard line on Panamanian strongman General Manuel Antonio Noriega. Now they blame Abrams for leaking word that a deal was at hand with Noriega—a slip one top official told Cato was premature, and damaging to the still ongoing negotiating process.

U.S. officials say the elements of a solution to the Noriega problem are on the table, including: General Noriega's resignation, democratic elections, an end to American sanctions, and, above all, a U.S. agreement not to seek Noriega's extradition on drug charges if he leaves Panama. But negotiators have yet to hit on the right sort of diplomatic legerdemain that will a) allow Noriega to save face when he steps down as defense minister and b) ensure a smooth transition from military dictatorship to parliamentary democracy.

It was December, four days after President Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev signed bound copies of the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty at an internationally televised White House ceremony. Secretary of State George Shultz told a brood of reporters in the State Department briefing room that the Senate would vote to ratify the accord. "We believe the treaty will sell itself," Shultz proclaimed. Administration officials don't say things like that today. Indeed, ratification of INF has been transformed from a sure thing into something of a political cliffhanger. The Senate's deliberations on the treaty are bogged down in contentious disputes over such fundamental matters as the scope of the Senate's treaty-making powers and the meaning of the term "weapon."

While no one is saying that the treaty might actually go unratified, more and more legislators and White House aides have come to believe that the Senate will not put its imprimatur on the document before President Reagan leaves for Moscow at the end of the month.

The Senate's most enthusiastic treaty supporters—i.e., Democratic leaders—maintain that the Administration is responsible for much of the blame for the delay. After all, they say, the INF pact—which would ban ground-based missiles with a three hundred- to 3,400-mile range—is supported by nearly every Democrat. The opposition generally comes from a dozen or so of the Senate's most conservative members. It is, they conclude, a succession of Administration PR slip-ups that have needlessly antagonized treaty supporters.

But one wonders if some of these "eager supporters" don't have some other agenda in mind. Consider the controversy over the question of whether the treaty bans cruise missiles armed not only with nuclear warheads, but also with such futuristic technologies as lasers and microwaves.

Many sensible legislators consider this a ludicrous debate. For one thing, the technology for such weapons does not now exist and the Pentagon has shown almost no interest in developing it. Also, INF treaty negotiators from both the U.S. and Soviet Union have stated that the treaty clearly bans arming cruise missiles with, in the words of one U.S. negotiator, "any mechanism or device." And last month, at the behest of Secretary Shultz, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze wrote a letter agreeing, according to the State Department translation, that the INF treaty banned cruise missiles "however equipped, nuclear or non-nuclear."

Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Sam Nunn then wondered if the Soviet use of the word "equipped" instead of the word "armed" meant that the Soviets did not believe the treaty banned cruise missiles equipped with cameras or other nonlethal devices. Shultz responded that State Department translators had incorrectly translated the Russian word for "armed."

Nunn persevered. The treaty, he noted, never defined the term "weapon." Next in the fray was the Senate Intelligence Committee, which prepared a report, yet to be published, on the heretofore overlooked question of whether the U.S. could verify Soviet compliance with a ban on non-existent futuristic cruise missiles.

Intelligence Committee chairman David Boren is now threatening to hold up final action on INF until the Administration goes along with a long-standing committee demand for additional intelligence-gathering equipment that is entirely unrelated to the INF pact.

The Soviets themselves are getting a crash course in Congress 101 these days. Said one senior Soviet Embassy official the other day: "In the Senate, I think they are frustrated policy makers." —CATO

knows the answer to that question is a question, to wit: What does it have to do with politics? To which the answer is: Everything. Liberals don't yell uncle unless you hit them, and ideas hit hardest. It's a shame more Reagan appointees didn't keep that in mind over the last seven and half years.

□ In a small but piquant victory for conservative activists, the Supreme Court recently overturned a 1983 District of Columbia statute prohibiting demonstrations within five hundred feet of a foreign embassy. Brought to trial in 1984 by the Young America's Foundation, the case got underway in August 1983 when two YAF interns were carted off to jail for leading a protest outside the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C. The law was dusted off again last September when Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze paid a visit to George Shultz at Foggy Bottom, and opponents of the INF treaty planned a protest rally in his honor. To squelch the demonstration, State Department officials invoked the fifty-year-old law, pointing out that it defined a foreign embassy as any building used by any foreign government for official purposes; and so in an odd, but somehow fitting, case of mistaken self-identity, the State Department declared itself an embassy of the Soviet Un-

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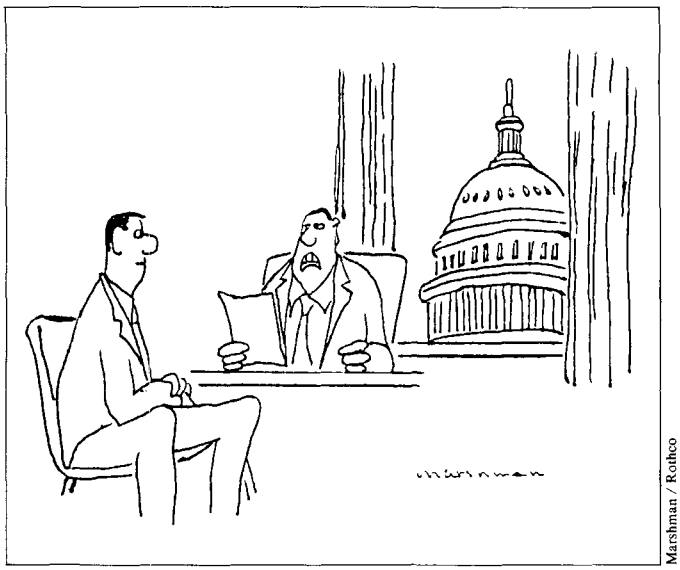

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ion. Across town, YAF's lawyers were arguing that, because the law in question protected foreign diplomats from hearing their governments brought into "public disrepute," it was not "content neutral" (it would have prohibited, for example, a demonstration against Gulag, but permitted a demonstration celebrating Gulag), and thus violated the First Amendment, which, according to a 1972 decision (*Police Department of Chicago* v. *Mosley*) denies the government the power to "restrict expression because of its message, its ideas, its subject matter, or its content." By a vote of 5 to 3, the Supreme Court agreed.

☐ Passive smoking is the smoking you do when you're not smoking, but you're in the presence of somebody who is, and New York has become the latest locality in America to impose a host of regulations on smoking in public places in order to cut down on passive puffs. One wonders, of course, why anyone who is that concerned about what he breathes lives in New York in the first place—which illuminates the central fact of the anti-smoking campaign, which is that it is less an issue of health than an issue of the *culture* of health. If we can't live forever, we can at least try, so one man's right to a stogie ends at another man's air space. Take that filthy thing into the restroom (and don't leave any ashes on the condom dispenser).

☐ P. W. Botha announced plans to admit black participation in South Africa's electoral college, and politically minded South Africans reacted as to a Rorschach. Botha himself explained that the black majority could not be "wished away, abracadabra." Chief Buthelezi, the moderate Zulu leader, said "a journey of a million miles commences with a first step, and that first step commences with looking in the right direction." Andries Treurnicht of the white-supremacist Conservative Party discerned a "recipe for the election of a black president." Bishop Tutu saw "nothing new." The reality is that the ruling National Party, which has begun to integrate Indians and coloreds into the political system, intends to integrate blacks cautiously, the fears of Treurnicht and the sneers of Tutu notwithstanding. The larger reality is that what Pretoria says goes: Western sanctions are powerless to budge it, to say nothing of the front-line states which, though they harbor ANC cadres, depend on South African trade and rail links for their economic survival. The word from Pretoria is: damn the torpedos, and full (but deliberate) speed ahead.

☐ We go to press before the second round of the French election, but one thing has been made clear: the Communist Party of France is dead in the water. Coming out of World War II the Communists held nearly a third of the French electorate, rolling up 28.7 per cent of the vote in the first national elections after V-E day. A fortnight ago, a divided but still doctrinaire Communist Party got 6.7 per cent of the vote, with many of its erstwhile blue-collar supporters voting for Le Pen's National Front. It was with Communist help that François Mitterrand won the presidency in 1981 on a sweeping Socialist reform program, and he paid the party off with four Cabinet posts. But the reforms went sour, the economy took a dive, and investors sent their francs abroad. These domestic disasters came on top of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and martial law in Poland, which had turned much of the fellow-traveling French intelligentsia (belatedly) against the USSR. The French Communist Party withdrew from the Mitterrand government, relieving the pressure from the Left and permitting the French president to run this time on a platform notable for the absence of the word "Socialist."

☐ Directive #7 of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee reads, "All state officials, workers and employees, and urban residents, except for special cases which must be approved, may have only one child per couple. . . . Those women who have already given birth must be fitted with IUDs, couples who already have two children must undergo sterilization of either the husband or the wife, and women outside of the plan must undergo remedial measures as soon as possible." "Remedial measures" include forced abortions as late as the ninth month, occasional infanticide (usually by injecting formaldehyde directly into the newborn's brain), and fines equivalent to several years' family income for those who leave town or otherwise seek to avoid the authorities' notice. Sanctions are applied to entire twenty-thousand-man factories if a single woman worker skirts the ban. The policy has eased somewhat in recent years. "Nearly all women of child-bearing age have been sterilized," one population worker explained, "so there is no need

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to deal with them." The policy was first documented by Stanford graduate student Steven Mosher, who was forced out of the university to placate the Chinese government, and whose reports have since been thoroughly confirmed by the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the BBC, and *Washington Post* Peking correspondent Michael Weisskopf. If the Communists go in for this kind of thing, it's a pity they didn't begin it 118 years ago. V. Lenin was a third child, and the negligent czars got around to hanging only one of his siblings.

☐ The (London) *Daily Telegraph* reports that pressure was imposed by the Derbyshire County Council on the Chesterfield School to change its motto to "something more relevant." For X hundred years, the motto of the Chesterfield School has been, "*Non quo sed quo modo*," i.e., "Not whither, but in what manner." The school has announced its new motto, pursuant to the mandate of the County Council. It is, "Derbyshire supports nuclear-free zones." *Non quo, sed pons asinorum.*

☐ On April 29, ABC's evening news show ran back-to-back stories on General Jaruzelski, the Polish "leader," and General Pinochet, the Chilean "military dictator."

☐ And if you read *Time* and *Newsweek*, you already know that American conservatives are "right-wingers," while Kremlin hardliners are "conservatives."

☐ There is, we hope, little truth to the rumor that Governor Dukakis has engaged the Baltimore Orioles to conduct U.S. foreign policy.

☐ A reader proposes: Start your own office pool on whether Meese or Noriega will quit first.

Schwadron, *Punch* / Rothco

"Goodbye, J.B., I've decided to go for the really big bucks and become a TV evangelist."

The George Bush Moment

NEW CURRENTS of history appear to be swirling around George Bush. In 1988 Bush has the opportunity to be, spectacularly, their beneficiary.

Back in the 1960s, the term "re-alignment" began to float around in the political air. The old New Deal coalition showed clear signs of strain. Perhaps we would have more clearly a party of the Right and a party of the Left. By 1980, re-alignment seemed a real possibility, with Ronald Reagan pulling millions of Democrats into the Republican Party and creating a permanent majority, FDR in reverse. It didn't happen under Reagan, as the 1986 loss of the Senate decisively showed.

The real possibility exists today that Jesse Jackson will succeed where Reagan failed. What Jackson has accomplished is to light up the landscape with the message that the Democratic Party is hospitable to, has embraced, a man whose heroes are Third World dictators, not Western democrats, and who shows little understanding of the free market or the presuppositions of freedom generally. Jesse Jackson's themes, charitably understood, locate him on the extreme left of the British Labour Party's policies. And yet it has been plausibly argued that Jackson actually has the courage of the Democrats' real convictions, and that this "child of the Third World," as he calls himself, is also, as some have said, the "conscience of the Democratic Party."

The party of Jesse Jackson may well drive large numbers of voters—Southern whites, Northern ethnics, others—into the Republican Party, perhaps to stay. Under these emerging circumstances, all Bush needs to do is demonstrate steadiness in his course toward the center of the current American political spectrum, which, however, does not lie half way between Mr. Reagan and Mr. Dukakis.

Right Veto, Wrong Reasons

NOT ALL trade bills are bad. In 1934, Secretary of State Cordell Hull pushed for the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, which allowed President Roosevelt to cut U.S. trade barriers in half, in exchange for similar treatment abroad. When that law was renewed in 1945, President Truman was granted authority to cut tariffs by yet another 50 per cent; and in the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, President Kennedy was permitted to slash tariffs by yet another 50 per cent. World prosperity followed each move, as global markets opened up. The new trade bill would put an end to the President's authority to negotiate mutual *reductions* in trade barriers. The olive branch of reciprocity is out of fashion; the big stick of retaliation is back in. Even the pending free-trade agreement between the

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U.S. and Canada is being held hostage to a quite different agenda.

Howard and James Baker somehow discerned, as the voters did not, great political allure in the trade proposals of Richard Gephardt and Bruce Babbitt. The Administration thus decided to take a firm stand against the *only* appealing item in the bill—namely, advance warning to workers before a plant closes. There *is* a good case to be made against this minor provision, but nobody bothered to mention what it was. It seems to be left to Vice President Bush to explain later why a seemingly humane warning about plant closings was the only reason an otherwise dangerous bill was vetoed. This is "me too" Republicanism with a difference—it leaves out the best and keeps the worst.

The purpose of the bill is clearly *not* to "save jobs," since both employment and manufacturing are booming. The real function of the bill is to revive an old mechanism for doling out favors to special interests. Budget constraints, deregulation, and tax reform have made it difficult for congressmen to reward constituents through the time-honored methods of extra spending, regulated cartels, or special tax breaks. By shifting trade issues out of the White House and into the hands of a malleable trade bureaucracy, influential industry groups can be granted more elbow room to jack up prices and salaries without fear of foreign competition.

The intended transfer of authority from the national perspective of the President to the sectional interests of Congress could emasculate every future President in world diplomacy. The Trade Representative might well be bashing some country, starting a hundred new "Pasta Wars," just as the President is trying to negotiate on a delicate issue of state or defense. Nearly any excuse will pass for "injury" from imports in this bill, including "workers' rights" abroad. Nearly any sort of trade is to be "investigated," in order to place imports into numerous categories described as "unfair"—including another country's failure to debauch its currency. The whole "Super 301" section is a goldmine for industry associations that would love to harass foreign rivals with a flood of trade complaints. Economists have a phrase for all this—"rent seeking" —which means it would soon become easier to get rich by wining and dining Washington trade officials than by building better products at lower cost. This whole trade-bill fiasco has been, as *The Economist* properly remarked, "a nice manipulation of Republicans by Democrats."

On Noriega's Terms

We first demanded prison,
  Then exile sounded fine,
And now we're set to settle
  If he'll just, please, resign.

W. H. von Dreele

God and Glasnost

The Soviet constitution guarantees the freedom of religion, but the clause has about as much real effect there as, say, the Tenth Amendment has here. Now Mikhail Gorbachev, meeting with heads of the Russian Orthodox Church, has promised new legislation to make religious freedom a reality.

We've heard this song before, of course. During the Great Patriotic War, Stalin himself relaxed controls on the Church, a bulwark of the patriotic sentiment he badly needed at the time. Persecution was resumed, ironically, under the liberalizing Khrushchev.

The Soviets face no such exigency at the moment as Stalin did in 1941. Gorbachev's move *may* be either a publicity ploy or a conscientious reform. But it's probably neither. As the historian Herbert Butterfield noted, freedom often makes its debut as a by-product of power struggles between forces that have no regard for freedom as such. A general relaxation of controls seems to be Gorbachev's strategy for consolidating his own power—roughly comparable to Disraeli's broadening the franchise in order to win the working classes for the Tories.

However motivated, such a change can become permanent and principled, as religious freedom became enshrined in the West after the exhaustion of religious wars. It's a little early to make predictions about the Soviet Union, but something is clearly happening. We'll have a better idea what to make of it when we see whether the promises Gorbachev has made to the Orthodox are kept—and whether they're extended to Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Moslems, and others.

SDI Death Watch

The *Washington Post* has pulled a long face and drawn itself up to the bed of SDI in expectation of its sad demise (not that the *Post* ever wished it long life, but never mind). The paper quoted a report of Congress's Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) and an unreleased report of the Everett panel of the Defense Science Board of the Defense Department, to show that SDI won't work, isn't progressing, and will be scaled back.

But Edward Rowny, Special Advisor to the President on Arms Control, said in a Washington speech that the patient's pulse is steady and strong. The Everett panel has found SDI to be "fundamentally sound," and the OTA agrees with the Administration that Phase I of SDI will be deployable between 1995 and

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2000. SDI research thrives; this year, the Delta 181 experiment took a giant step toward discriminating between warheads and decoys.

The problem is money. Another thing OTA and the White House agree on—if Congress keeps scrimping, key portions of the program will be scrimped out of existence. Gloom and doom articles in the *Washington Post*, of course, encourage Congress to stay its course. (Bet they never thought of *that*.)

We Are Overcome

ONCE UPON A TIME, "civil rights" meant the prerogatives of citizens vis-à-vis the state. It stood for limits on state power. It signified not so much equal as *identical* rights for all citizens qua citizens.

Somewhere along the line, the phrase came to be synonymous with special interests: roughly, whatever the NAACP is demanding *this* time. Which usually means that private citizens, businesses, and institutions stand to be more thoroughly policed and harassed by litigation than ever.

So when the Supreme Court, long uncritical of the NAACP version of civil rights, announced its second thoughts about a 1976 ruling permitting private lawsuits on grounds of racial discrimination, liberals howled. The NAACP's executive director, Benjamin Hooks, ever ready with prerecorded repartée, saw "an effort by the Reagan Court to turn back the clock on civil rights." Harry Blackmun saw the decision to review the ruling as a blow against "our society's earnest commitment to ending racial discrimination."

It speaks volumes about the current situation that a man so confused about the relation of the rule of law to substantive goals should be sitting on the Court. The wonder is that there are now five justices whose minds are at least open.

No genuine right automatically serves a given bloc interest, and it's grotesque to refer to ethnic lobbyists in pursuit of state favoritism as "civil-rights leaders." If what the NAACP is after were really civil rights, equally beneficial to all, it would be nonsense for NAACP spokesmen to impute opposition to their demands to indifference (or worse) toward blacks. Most citizens would welcome "civil rights" as enhancements of their own freedoms. But they know better.

Nixon, Phenomenon

IN HIS NINTH book, *1999: Victory without War*, former President Nixon makes a strong case for what he likes to call hard-headed détente. By that he means that we should reject the isolationist Left on the one hand, but also, on the other, the segment of the Right that wishes to economically isolate and rhetorically penalize the Soviet Union. Nixon sees the Soviet Union as a bad thing that we will just have to live with. He would engage in negotiations on trade, arms, and other things when our interests happen to converge, but he also recognizes that there are wide areas of difference.

Despite some irritating if predictable rhetorical maneuvers—Mr. Nixon sets up "superhawks" against "superdoves" with guess-who in the sane center—the book exudes an air of Bismarckian realism, an antiutopian temper for which it has been widely and deservedly praised. It is true, as Richard Perle points out in a thoughtful review, that Mr. Nixon, when President, succumbed to intermittent illusions, and engaged in grain deals, truck deals, and flawed weapons treaties. The Bismarckian themes of *1999* no doubt represent his developing and later realism.

However, there are problems. Mr. Nixon has never asked himself whether Bismarckian realism, which is profoundly aristocratic and cynical, can be effectively practiced in a moralistic democracy.

The former President believes that the Communist leopard in Moscow will not change its spots, but—and economics has never been Mr. Nixon's strong suit—Soviet economic reality may be putting an end to the Leninist dream of Communist world domination. It is possible that Gorbachev knows the Soviet Union simply cannot support the global Communist enterprise. We may be seeing a Soviet retreat not only in Afghanistan but in Vietnam. Hanoi is nervous about Moscow's weakening support.

Mr. Nixon also seems to believe that SDI would leak like a sieve, and could be overwhelmed—neither of which propositions is necessarily true. Indeed—economics again—the cost argument seems to be tilting in favor of the defense.

The continuing presence of Mr. Nixon as a thoughtful elder statesman on foreign policy, however, remains one of the wonders of the age. Does anyone ask Jimmy Carter what he thinks about the future of Japan or Brazil? Oh yes, sorry: Jesse Jackson does.

The Lost Drug 'War'

IT HAS BECOME CLEAR that the narcoticization of American society represents something genuinely new, and the fact is that we do not yet possess a conceptual frame within which to deal with it. Drug monopolies with private armies are undermining our foreign policy in Central and South America. The U.S.-trained military has been corrupted by drug money in many countries. Drug hunger is the basis of street crime and prostitution, the basis of a part of the problem of the "homeless," and the cause of the zombieization of people from the bum in the gutter to your friendly Wall Street broker.

It is not surprising that, in view of the visible failure of present measures, other approaches are on the

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intellectual board, opposite, but in some ways complementary as responses to the current failure. One, the libertarian, counsels us to forget about the drug laws. Such estimable men as Ira Glasser of the ACLU and David Boaz of the Cato Institute argue that our narcotics laws are the *source* of the problem. In their practical effect, they create a monopoly among the drug dealers willing to operate in violation of the laws. This pushes up the price of the drugs, which, in themselves—chemically—are worth very little. Because of the law-created monopoly, the addicts resort to crime to assuage their drug hunger. In our current circumstance, this is not at all a negligible position, though Congress shows no disposition to adopt it. Our narcotics laws, from this perspective, constitute a federal subsidy to the drug cartels.

The political consensus at the present time is in favor of an escalation of enforcement. The articulation of this position by Irving Kristol, Jeffrey Eisenach, and Morton Kondracke has been intellectually impressive. Kristol rules out on practical-political grounds "real" enforcement—e.g., summary execution of drug dealers as in China and Malaysia. Neither of those countries has a drug problem. But this "liberal" nation, Kristol prematurely concedes, could do no such thing—though an even more "liberal" nation dropped the Bomb on Japan in another war. What Kristol and others of like mind recommend is much sterner enforcement of the current laws.

As things stand now, the Coast Guard and the Drug Enforcement Agency cannot intercept possible drug deliveries by sea or air until the vehicle is within our territorial waters or airspace. We "cannot go after them until it is too late." It would not be difficult for an interceptor to signal a plane to land, or a cutter to corral a boat for inspection. Both the Pentagon and the State Department oppose, as usual, such moderate "military" moves—against what are, actually, pirates in the nineteenth-century sense.

NR is at present far from attempting to foreclose this argument; but, as in the example of Vietnam, the maxim seems true: Win it, or get out.

Najibullah Senses Something

As cities near the Khyber fall
And blasts in Kabul cast a pall,
The Russians, with a friendly pat,
Load up as they prepare to scat,
Recalling scenes set long ago
In Maximilian's Mexico.

W. H. VON DREELE

The Egalitarians' Moving Target

STOP US IF you've heard this one before. There is, a *New York Times* article tells us, "A Growing Gap Between Rich and Poor." The author this time is Frank Levy of the University of Maryland, but the same story is endlessly repeated every election year by Lester Thurow, Barry Bluestone, and others. "Among the wealthiest one-fifth of families," writes Levy, "average income [between 1979 and 1986] grew from $70,260 to $76,300—in 1986 dollars. Among the poorest one-fifth of families, average income fell from $8,761 to $8,033." That seems to say something, but does it?

The main trick is that the income required in order to be listed among the "wealthiest one-fifth" was much higher in 1986 than in 1979. For illustration, suppose it required $40,000 (in 1986 dollars) to make it into the top one-fifth in 1979, and $50,000 in 1986. When we average all of the 1986 incomes above $50,000, they are sure to be larger than back in 1979, when we included incomes as low as $40,000. There is also going to be more total income in the "wealthiest one-fifth," for the same reason that it now includes only incomes above $50,000, not incomes above $40,000. Economists like Lester Thurow may get excited about the top one-fifth receiving a larger share of "our" income, but that follows from the fact that the top one-fifth no longer includes incomes as low as it used to. Incomes are higher when only higher incomes are counted.

The dividing line marking the "wealthiest one-fifth" rose sharply over the past five years because *many* families had large increases in real income—too many to be included in only one-fifth of all families. It is precisely because *more than* one-fifth of the families had large increases in real income, that the amount of income needed to be counted among the "wealthiest one-fifth" kept rising. For some reason, Mr. Levy also complains that "average wages and salaries in the top 1 per cent of tax returns grew from $107,113 to $124,696." But that was *before* taxes. The share of all income taxes paid by those with incomes in the top 1 per cent rose from 18.1 per cent in 1981 to 26.1 per cent in 1986, thanks to much lower *marginal* tax rates. There is something wrong with producing more rich people, thus taking the tax load off the poor?

Accepting Mr. Levy's figures at face value, the poorest one-fifth do look worse off since 1979. But 1979 is a questionable year for comparison, since it was the peak of an inflationary blow-off. And "families" in these figures really means "households," and there are many more one-person households than there were even a few years ago. Families of four with everyone working tend to earn more than households of one with nobody working. Frank Levy understands very well why some households have been left behind. He

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The Twenty-Year Bear Market

WALL STREET is not quite sure whether the current backing and filling is a short-term bull market within a long-term bear market, or vice versa. For perspective on long-term market trends:

AVERAGE DAILY CLOSE OF S&P 500 STOCK INDEX
(1941-43 = 10)

Period	Actual	Adjusted for Inflation	Average Cap. Gains Tax Rate
1948-1952	19.20	12.32	25.0%
1953-1957	37.18	21.83	25.0
1958-1962	57.62	31.30	25.0
1963-1967	83.32	42.07	25.0
1968-1972	97.45	40.80	34.2
1973-1977	95.33	29.30	46.9
1978-1982	113.11	22.32	29.6
1983-1987	206.18	30.78	21.6

Adjusted for inflation, the stock market peaked in the mid Sixties. The recent stock-market boom actually reflects lesser heights than those of the 1963-67 period (the highest individual year was 1968, when the index reached 45.62). Steady erosion had pushed the index down to a post-1968 low in 1982 (19.94), and even five years of the late, great bull market produced only a 40.59 average (in 1987). The index finished the year at 34.96 after bottoming out at 31.82 on October 19.

Historically the market moves south when capital-gains-tax rates move north. The 1948-1967 rise in equity prices coincided with a 25 per cent tax rate on capital gains, moderate compared to the 90 per cent rate on ordinary income during much of that period. Starting with the Tax Reform Act of 1969 and culminating with the Tax Reform Act of 1976, Congress progressively raised the maximum tax rate on capital gains from 25 per cent to 49.1 per cent. In 1978 rates were cut to 28 per cent, and then to 20 per cent via the 1981 Reagan tax cut.

The 40 per cent increase in the top capital-gains-tax rate that took effect January 1, 1987, ended nearly a decade of rate reductions and what was mistakenly regarded as one of the greatest bull markets in history. For many investors, these rates more than doubled: a married couple with taxable income of $40,000 had a capital-gains-tax rate of 13.2 per cent under the old law, but now faces a rate of 28 per cent.

In a perverse way the initial impact of these tax changes was positive, because many investors liquidated their positions in late 1986 in anticipation of the rate increase, and those who didn't were reluctant to sell at the higher tax rates. These factors held down the supply of stock for sale in the first part of 1987, propping up prices.

Also, foreign investors were induced to buy U.S. equities when the dollar declined, but gradually became unnerved when it appeared that the dollar's fall would be longer and deeper than anticipated.

Taxes are only one of many factors influencing equity prices, but there can be little doubt that the 1986 changes were a setback to the stability of the stock market and to long-term investing.

—ED RUBENSTEIN

writes that "the President . . . must find ways to keep kids in school longer . . . [and] must also do something to stop unmarried teenagers from having babies." That's going to keep the next President busy indeed, but it doesn't have much to do with Reaganomics.

Dartmouth: The Witch Hunt Goes On

EVERYONE IS by now familiar with the extraordinary action taken by the disciplinary committee at Dartmouth against four student editors of the *Dartmouth Review*, charging them with various modes of abusive and disorderly conduct. It was much much less than that, and on one matter there simply was no doubt, namely the charge that the *Dartmouth Review* students were racially motivated in their attack on Dr. William Cole. That was preposterous on the face of it.

Notwithstanding, the president of Dartmouth, Mr. Freedman, pursued the student editors and the *Dartmouth Review* as if it were plain that Dartmouth was being threatened by the Ku Klux Klan. The most plausible inference is that the newly installed president is afraid that the Afro-American Society is going to occupy his office. This is a routine activity by the black student lobby at Dartmouth, and nobody has figured out how to reprimand students for doing so. It isn't as easy as dealing with two white editors, whom you kick out of Dartmouth for 18 months, two others receiving lesser penalties.

But the latest aggression is mounted by a member

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of the faculty, a professor Carla Freccero. She sent out a summons for a meeting of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences in order to "register our disapproval of and dissociate ourselves from the marks made by Professor Jeffrey Hart at the COS (Committee on Standards) hearings, quoted in the *Rutland Daily Herald*, March 7, page 7: 'Professor Cole lives in a sort of mental nightmare populated by cliché demons' and 'Professor Cole comes from a background where physical violence is commonplace.' These remarks undermine collegiality and encourage racist attitudes among the faculty, students, and alumni of Dartmouth College."

Now, the two sentences quoted by Professor Freccero were a part of the brief for the defense offered by Mr. Hart, a senior editor of this journal. As to the first, it is simply not possible to read the transcript of Professor Cole's lecture, recorded by a student not associated with the *Dartmouth Review*, and come to a different conclusion. Except that this transcript teems with obscenities, it might be reprinted to make the point manifest. But even a bowdlerized version of his lecture would prove the point, concerning which enough said. On the second point, Mr. Hart was, the context of his statement clearly establishes, suggesting that Professor Cole's truculent behavior when approached by the young editors (he swore at them and lunged at a camera) could perhaps be, if not explained, mitigated by Cole's own account of the violence that surrounded him during his early years, such violence as is graphically described in Claude Brown's classic, *Manchild in the Promised Land*. It is a further irony that the same context shows that Professor Hart reprimanded the young students for physically presenting themselves to Mr. Cole with the document their lawyer advised them to hand to him. Given Cole's notorious volatility, Mr. Hart said, it would have been better to mail the recommended letter to Cole rather than to appear in his classroom (after his class had dispersed) to hand it to him.

To suggest what amounts to a vote of censure against a respected colleague for making the two points above suggests that Dartmouth is at the point of hysteria—better—would have suggested this if the motion had been carried. It was not. But this was owing to the absence of a quorum. One hopes that the majority of the faculty, for reasons intellectual and moral, wished to dissociate themselves from Professor Freccero's unbridled passion, and simply stayed home to avoid direct confrontation. We shall see: the meeting has been postponed for two weeks.

Concerning the general appetite to dramatize the case of the four young editors, on April 27 the *New York Post* ran a six-column headline: BUCKLEY HIRES AXED DARTMOUTH EDITOR. The lead sentences: "Chris Baldwin, the Dartmouth junior who was suspended for humiliating one of the college's music professors, has found an ally in William Buckley. The conservative columnist—convinced that Baldwin was railroaded because the professor happened to be black—has given the student, who is white, a full-time job at the NATIONAL REVIEW, the magazine which Buckley edits." The story goes on, failing only to mention that Christopher Baldwin was hired as a NATIONAL REVIEW intern four months earlier, in recognition of his journalistic abilities and his high academic record. It would have been more correct but less dramatic to say, BUCKLEY DECLINES TO FIRE DARTMOUTH EDITOR, PERSECUTED BY DARTMOUTH COLLEGE.

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

In Robert Dornan's wonderful article, "Stop Beating around the Bush" [Nov. 6], he made a slight error when he said that whereas Bush has been referred to as a preppy, you—a fellow Yalie—have not.

On the contrary, *The Official Preppy Handbook* (Lisa Birnbach, Workman Publishing, 1980) lists you under the Prep Pantheon.

"William F. Buckley Jr.—St. Thomas More and St. John's, Beaumont (England), and Millbrook, Yale '50. Author, critic, publisher, television personality. Earned an immediate place in Prep Pantheon for his first book, *God and Man at Yale*. Would have made it anyway for his patrician demeanor, number 2 pencil, and amazing curling tongue."

You are listed along with John Adams, George Bush, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Katharine Hepburn, George Plimpton, Elliot Richardson, Clare Boothe Luce, Cole Porter, Grace Kelly, and the members of the architectural firm of McKim, Mead, and White. Wow! (There are others too numerous to mention here.)

You are also cited as a reference on how to speak like a preppy. Your accent is referred to as New England Nasal Nip.

Sincerely,
Kimberly J. Gustin
Indianapolis, Ind.

Dear Miss Gustin: Don't use a pencil, haven't for fifty years. Nasal Nip accent result of chronic sinus. When you fly, one Seldane morning and night, day before flight, day of flight, day after flight; one Sudafed two hours before flight; Afrin nose drops just before and just after take-off; Ayr during flights; one Actifed one hour before landing; and avoid sounding like,

Your servant,
WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

From the front page of the March 9 *Wall Street Journal*:

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"A bill defining insider trading won't be enacted by Congress, Representative Dingell predicted. But the Energy and Commerce panel chairman said he is sure lawmakers will move to improve ways of detecting that crime."

I will appreciate your enlightenment. How does one detect that which one cannot or will not define? Is this an arcane skill possessed only by certain liberal members of Congress?

Sincerely
Richard R. Heath
San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Mr. Heath: Yes. It is a very special skill. It permits you, also, to divine when the intentions of the Soviet Union are softening, when you should worry about a deficit—as distinguished from when you should *not* worry about it—and when democracy truly works (e.g., Iowa, Michigan). Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Bill Rusher's memo to you in the "Notes & Asides" column [April 1, 1988] dealing with the U.S. Postal Service, is unfair and inaccurate. As a postal worker and *NR* subscriber, I feel that I must respond to these complaints.

First, the Postal Service was forced to absorb a $1.25 billion cut in the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act passed in December 1987. It did not do so as a response to President Reagan's "call for economies in the executive branch."

Unfortunately, the Postal Service was ordered to absorb this cut through reductions in its operational and service budget, rather than, for example, borrowing money, adjusting rates, or using cash reserves. Therefore, there have been some reductions in service—but not quite in the manner described.

Specifically, the Postal Service *does* work on Sundays. I can assure you that incoming mail is processed as usual on Sundays. But the congressionally mandated budget cuts have caused the decision to stop the working of *outgoing* mail on Sundays.

Regrettably, this policy will result in the delay of some mail. I do want to emphasize that this is not because of any incapability or unwillingness on behalf of the U.S. Postal Service to perform as obligated.

If I may paraphrase Mr. Rusher: "There is nothing we can do about this, but I thought you—and *NR*'s readers—ought to know that, this time at least, the problem isn't our fault."

Incidentally, my copy of *NR* arrived right on time.

Sincerely,
David L. Myers
Lincoln, Neb.

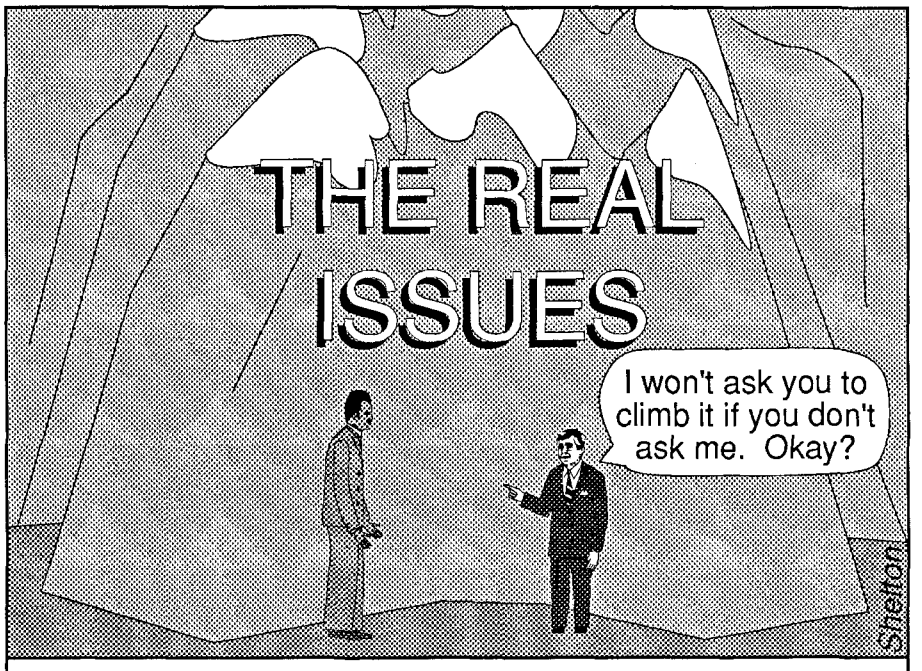
☐ Bill dear: From a local black paper, the *Los Angeles Sentinel.* Shame on you . . .

Love,
Auntie Bill
Pasadena, Calif.

(Enclosure) *Los Angeles Sentinel,* December 31, "Urban Perspectives," by Larry Aubry . . .

"I remember William F. Buckley annihilating James Meredith on television. Later, Baldwin took on Buckley and was masterful. Not only did Baldwin excel, but for those blacks watching and countless others, it was an exhilarating, vicarious triumph."

Dear Bill: 1) From *New York Journal American,* June 14, 1965, by Jack O'Brian: ". . . Baldwin plainly is an emotional and creatively imaginative TV performer, obviously sincerely impelled by the plight of Negroes, and aimed and blunted by his own public and personal problems, and victim to the slogans and clichés of the predicament in which he is immersed . . . But the 'debate,' or discussion, or argument, or whatever it can be called, was especially interesting as a TV performance, as is any good fight. Buckley was by far the more effective debater; Baldwin had the very fact of his race's tragic oppression to justify even his excesses of rhetoric and frequently chaotic digressions of his arguments; you felt he was entitled to his anger and frustrations—but only personally." 2) I have never debated James Meredith. Love, —**WFB**



Jesse and The Duke make a deal.

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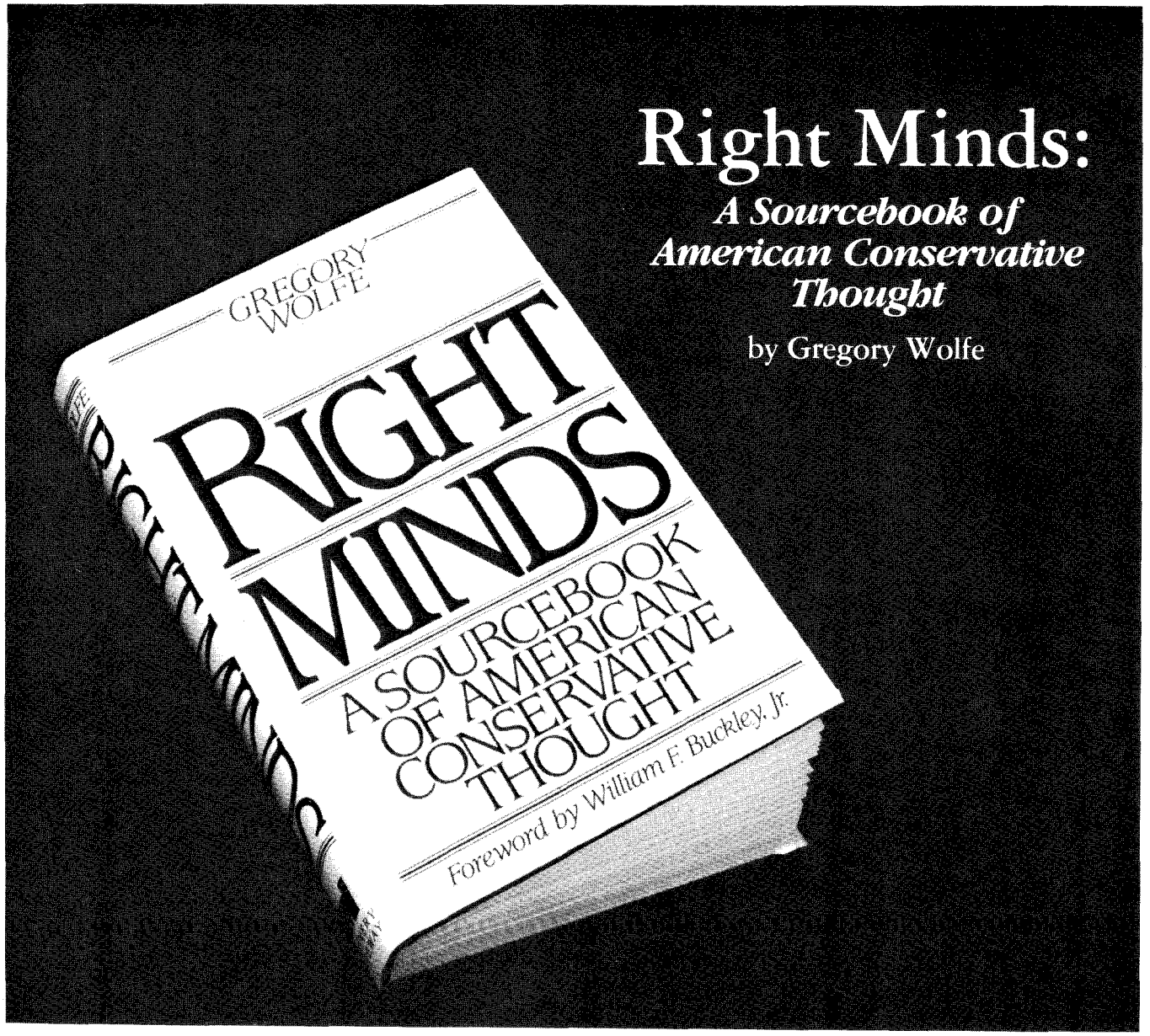
Pardon our saying it, but you may be out of your right mind if you don't take this opportunity to get your own copy of . . .



In his foreword to this remarkable book, William F. Buckley Jr. claims that *Right Minds* brings together in *one* handy volume "ninety percent of anything one would ever need to be familiar with in order to have a full understanding of the many tributaries that flow into the conservative mainstream." That's high praise for an ordinary-sized and *readable* book—but Buckley is on target: *Right Minds* isn't another book you'll never actually get around to reading, it's something that will fascinate you because it *relates* the wide variety of conservative thought—and thinkers—in a *coherent* outline.

Wolfe examines the writings of conservatives on everything from economics and foreign policy to the "social issues" involving the family, education, and the philosophy of a "Good Society." The book also includes short biographies of conservative figures from John Adams and Alexander Hamilton to Russell Kirk and George Gilder (naturally, you'll find *many* references to Bill Buckley, James Burnham, Whittaker Chambers, and many other famous conservatives well known to NR readers).

This is a book you will want to add to your personal library, not to mention pass along to those *young* people you care about. So why not take this opportunity to get your copy *FREE and postpaid* right now?

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CENTRAL AMERICA AT THE CROSSROADS

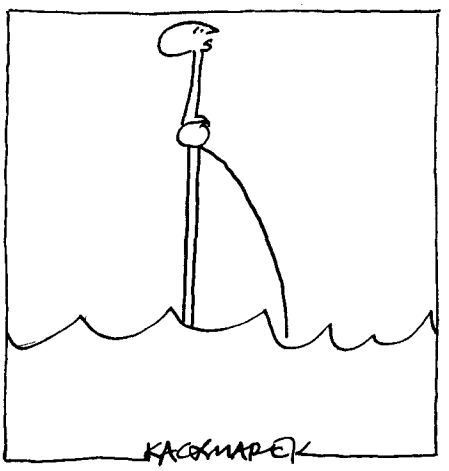
FOR THE last seven years, America has been acting as policeman at the juncture between North and South America. From Guatemala and El Salvador to Costa Rica and Panama, the Reagan Doctrine has meant a policy that is steadfastly anti-Communist, anti-terrorist, and pro-democratic. But today, Central American leaders are wondering whether U.S. policy will change after the November presidential elections.

Oscar Arias's recent remarks at a meeting in Washington with Vice President Bush imply that Central Americans are hedging their bets. The Nobel Prize-winning president of Costa Rica told Bush that U.S. policy toward Noriega is not going to force him from office, although it will hurt Panama's economy. Arias also called on the U.S. to pressure the Contras to reach an accord with the Sandinistas. One day later, he turned his rhetoric on Gorbachev, accusing the Soviets of "not doing all in their power" to force the Sandinistas to pursue reconciliation with their democratic opposition.

But all this is optics. Arias badly wants the Panama problem and the Managua threat settled before Reagan returns to California next January. And, secretly, many other Central American leaders feel the same way. Confronted in the early 1980s with Nicaragua's massive military buildup and support for terrorist movements in Honduras, Guatemala, Costa Rica, and El Salvador, these leaders welcomed a get-tough U.S. policy to counter Soviet and Cuban meddling.

However, these same leaders are mostly constrained by their countries' cultural and political Zeitgeist to criticize any U.S., as well as Soviet, intervention in the region's affairs. The potency of the "Yankee Bigfoot" image was revealed again recently by the reaction to the proposal to nominate William Walker as U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica. Walker has the misfortune of having the same name as an American freebooter who briefly took over Nicaragua in the mid nineteenth century and then tried to annex Costa Rica. That earlier Walker met with a firing squad more than one hundred years ago, but memories are long in Latin America, and any memory lapses were remedied by a motion picture on the subject recently released. After an outcry from Costa Ricans, the twentieth-century Walker's nomination was scuttled.

What Latin leaders want is for the U.S. to hold the stick so that they can offer the carrot. This strategy has worked particularly well for Arias, allowing him to win a Nobel Peace Prize and pursue his dream of building an international "peace" consensus on Central America. This December, he plans a "Peace Grand Prix" in Costa Rica, to be attended by a large cast of celebrities and hosted by Mario Andretti. Arias is also banking on the Costa Rican women's swim team to pick up some gold medals at the Seoul Olympics to help draw world attention to Central America. By elevating the region's standing in the world, he hopes to make superpower meddling by East or West henceforth unrespectable. But he doesn't have long: his term is up in 1990 and he cannot be re-elected.



"I sailed beyond my depth."

THE growing cloud over Arias's dream is the persistent problem of drug trafficking. Whereas the menace in Latin America used to be Marxism, today it is narcoticism, a non-ideological plague. And what makes this plague nearly ineradicable is the power of hard currency. Narcotics provide a sturdy export crop in a continent where exports—coffee, bananas, timber—have always been the source of wealth. If Noriega gets away with an empire built on narcotics, others will follow suit. Unlike other exports with fluctuating prices, narcotics guarantee a steady flow of earnings, because of the continuing demand from the developed countries. In the long run, the corruption the drug trade brings may well deprive Arias of his dream of making Central America look good. However, with the drug issue rising prominently in American presidential politics, U.S. policy toward the region is moving from anti-Communism to anti-narcoticism, or so many politicians in Washington are concluding. That is why Central Americans are watching anxiously to see whether the U.S. will force Noriega out, and what it will do if he goes.

From Guatemala in the north to Panama in the south, the region is at a crossroads. If Noriega outlasts Reagan, the effect will be colossal. Central American leaders will conclude that the Reagan Doctrine failed in ousting both the Sandinistas and the drug peddler. The result will be a headlong rush toward geopolitical neutrality and domestic corruption, plus an historic loss of U.S. regional influence. □

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THE AFGHAN TURNING POINT

IN PRINCPLE, the Afghanistan peace accords constitute a good omen for a May Summit. That is, if you think Summits are Good Things. (If you don't, for "good," read "bad.")

In strategic and historical terms, Mikhail Gorbachev's decision to pull the Soviet forces out of their Afghan quagmire constitutes a major reverse for the October Revolution, comparable to the American decision to withdraw from Vietnam in 1973. In each case, the superpower involved tacitly conceded defeat.

Be patient: I'm coming to the reservations and qualifications before long. The fact is that the Soviet leadership (of which at that time Gorbachev was still a relatively junior member under his protector, Yuri Andropov) engineered a situation in 1978 and 1979 that enabled it to respond to a (phony) appeal for military help from a puppet government in Kabul. For nearly nine years, they conducted a brutal war of extermination in a territory of no economic interest but of great strategic importance, on the assumption that Iran and the Gulf would be the next objectives in "the protracted conflict." They have failed to subdue the fierce tribesmen who, in Britain's day of empire, held off the British Raj.

It was surprising that on the run-up to the Shevardnadze-Shultz meeting in Geneva, the General Secretary's restructured, revitalized propaganda machine went into high gear, presenting the decision to quit not as a defeat but as a genuine expression of "our new mode of political thinking, loyalty to the traditions of good neighborliness, good will, and mutual respect which are rooted in Lenin's ideas" (*Pravda*). Even from the most flexible of latter-day Leninists, this distortion of the ideas of the Father of Great October verges on the indecent.

I come back to Paul Kennedy [see "The Protracted Conflict," *NR*, April 29]. The amazing inefficiency of socialist economics seems finally to have come full circle. Soviet Russia (I use the term advisedly) just can't afford imperial expansion any more; not at least out of its own resources.

I come now to the reservations, and to the differences between Afghanistan and Vietnam in real terms. The Soviet system doesn't deliver Communist abundance for all, but it does work in power terms. The self-perpetuating oligarchy gives the orders, which are then carried out. There is no nonsense about spanners in the works from the Supreme Soviet, still less any from the Foreign Ministry. What is decided is done.

Not so in the United States. President Nixon pulled out of Vietnam because he could see no way of winning there. On paper, he left the forsaken forces of South Vietnam the wherewithal to hold their own against the northern aggressor. The Congress thereupon frustrated his honorable intentions, starved the South of ammunition and spare parts, and condemned the Vietnamese people to the bitter choice between slavery and the hazards of rickety boats on the high seas.

"Hey, this is a missile-free zone."

And that was how a *defeated* superpower handled it. What is worrying about the Afghanistan peace accords is that the same superpower, now on the *winning* side, seems bent on leaving its distant allies in the same kind of lurch in Afghanistan as in Vietnam.

The "covert" (i.e., officially disownable) provision of vast quantities of modern weaponry to the Afghan *mujahedin* was one of the late Bill Casey's great achievements. Without it, the *mujahedin* were heading for defeat in the sense that they would have been reduced to an easily containable rabble.

The problem with the Geneva accords, as the well-informed Senator Gordon Humphrey has noted, is that they make no provision for a program of continuing military aid to the *mujahedin* after the Soviet withdrawal begins. (See "The Geneva Shuffle," page 28.)

THE SOVIETS took the view that there was no way they could accept any constraints on their freedom to aid the "sovereign" government in Kabul. Mr. Shultz argued in favor of "symmetry": you help your lot, we help ours. Mr. Shevardnadze thereupon made a non-concession in a letter (not yet published as these lines were written) that Mr. Shultz found acceptable. The gist of the letter seems to be that the U.S. may send arms to the rebels during the withdrawal period of nine months, if during that time the Soviet Union has sent military supplies to Kabul.

This sounds good, but it isn't, because a) it is an informal arrangement, not a formal agreement and b) it clashes with one of the four "instruments" that constitute the formal agreement between Afghanistan and Pakistan, under which the two neighbors pledge themselves to mutual "non-interference" and "non-intervention." As

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The Economist put it, succinctly: "In English, this means an end to arms supplies to the guerrillas via Pakistan." At the time of writing, the Secretary of State hasn't gotten around to explaining just how he proposes to route post-agreement arms supplies to the *mujahedin*.

Nothing, on the other hand, stands in the way of a resumed flow of Soviet military supplies to their puppets in Kabul. As if to underline the realities of power and geography, a gigantic explosion on the site of an arms depot just outside Pakistan's capital, Islamabad, four days before the Geneva accords were to be signed, destroyed vast quantities of war materiel intended for the rebels; and, incidentally, caused about one hundred deaths and seven hundred injuries. First inquiries pointed to "Afghan agents" as responsible.

Let us remember that this was only the latest in a long series of terrorist outrages in Pakistan. Last fall, the Pakistani security forces captured several terrorists, who revealed under interrogation that they had been given their training, and their orders, by the KHAD, Kabul's equivalent of the KGB, *in the presence of Soviet personnel.*

Are the peace accords, then, yet another example of the diplomatic syndrome? The important thing is to have an agreement, because an agreement opens the door to another Summit, with the prospect of further agreements. Are they good agreements? Well, now, that would be asking a lot . . .

What is certain is that the Soviets will do all they can (short of coming back in force) to frustrate any attempt by the *mujahedin* to oust the strictly illegal government foisted on the Afghan people by Soviet teleguided coups and sustained by military intervention.

What is not certain is whether the U.S. will find ways of helping its de facto allies on the ground. It *can* be done, of course. All that is needed is a spot of illegality on the side: by the Pakistanis, should they opt to take a broad view of "non-intervention"; and by the Americans, should they decide to profit from Pakistani flexibility. Experience suggests that this will not happen. Although "covert" has at times meant "illegal," it did not carry that stigma over aid to the Afghan rebels. No hint of even potential illegality is likely to be tolerated by Mr. Casey's successor as Director of Central Intelligence.

So what it comes down to is whether the *mujahedin*, at this moment, have enough supplies to enable them to overthrow the Kabul regime *now*, meaning within the next few weeks. How much is "enough"? Frankly, I don't know. How demoralized is Najib, the KHAD man in "power" in Kabul? I don't know that, either. What can be said, with sad confidence, is that unless the *mujahedin* factions bury their differences and act as one and decisively while there is time, the fruits of the Soviet defeat may well be thrown away.

To return now to the grander strategy. If wealth and productive power were all that mattered, the Soviet regime could now be seen as heading for collapse, not tomorrow but, say, by the turn of the century. Richard Nixon's powerful new book, *1999: Victory without War* (of which he kindly sent me an advance proof copy), takes an eagle-eye look at the prospective situation. He knows, from bitter experience, the realities of the American scene. Rightly, in my view, he diagnoses a failure of will and of morale, not on the part of the American people, but of the American ruling class. He points to the enormous potential still at America's disposal which, if exploited intelligently, will ensure that the United States, and the West as a whole, shall win that "victory without war" of his title.

I find little to disagree with in this illuminating work. He is clear-eyed about Gorbachev's highly professional charm, for instance. He is right to pitch his exhortation to the voters as well as to those who are entrusted with the conduct of public affairs.

The equation, as I see it, may be presented in these terms:

The Soviet side is, in material terms, in some disarray. The Afghanistan pullout is a symptom of a deeper malaise. The General Secretary knows the score. He has publicly admitted the amazing inefficiency of the system but also knows that he cannot disavow Leninism and survive. (It is relatively much easier for the Chinese Communists to praise capitalism than for the Soviets, as repositories of the October Revolution.) Gorbachev has purists (led by Yegor Ligachev, the guardian of Leninist orthodoxy) gunning for him. He is vulnerable and may not survive.

If Gorbachev falls, it will be good news for the West, not bad. For if he does, there will be a reversion to Stalinist repression at home and coercion in Eastern Europe (though not, of course, on a scale at all comparable with Stalin's). The unchanging character of the system would thus become more visible, and would help to provoke the necessary responses in Washington, London, Paris, and even Bonn.

He is, however, more likely to win than to lose the Soviet power struggle. He has moved faster than any of his predecessors in placing his own people in leadership positions throughout the whole vast territory. And that is bad news, not good.

In the immediate future, it would be surprising if the Soviet Union were tempted into further international adventures. The Soviets are more likely to start reducing their commitments, to Cuba and Nicaragua, to Angola, to Mozambique, and so forth. However, "active measures," designed to discredit America and the West and to undermine our societies, will continue and be intensified.

During the Washington Summit, Gorbachev gave a precise pledge to USIA Director Charles Wick that there would be "no more lying, no more disinformation" (note the tacit admission of what was previously denied). On April 6, the USIA issued a big report on "Soviet Active Measures in the Era of Glasnost," from which it is abundantly clear that Gorbachev's pledge was itself an "active measure."

Now, what I would like to know is this: Why is the American public denied normal access to such USIA reports? The answer goes back to the Katzenbach Amendment, which I mentioned in my last column.

And I have another question: Why did Commerce Secretary William Verity go off to Moscow? To help Gorbachev win the "protracted conflict"? [see "Inside the Red-Trade Lobby," by Cort Kirkwood, *NR*, April 29.]

It is because of such questions that the final outcome of the undeclared war remains open, despite the evident failure of Soviet Communism as a system. □

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THE GENEVA SHUFFLE

IF YOU WALK down the main street in Darra, a village bazaar not far from Peshawar, Pakistan, it looks, at first glance, as if the war in Afghanistan is proceeding nicely. Afghans wearing dusty turbans argue over the price of Soviet assault rifles. One or two big spenders discuss delivery dates on some big Chinese anti-aircraft guns, to be sent out on the next available camel caravan. A 14-year-old boy longingly eyes a basket full of rocket-propelled grenades. Eight years of war in Afghanistan have made Darra the black-market arms capital of the world.

Back in civilization, the experts are debating whether the signing of the Geneva accords will bring about a new government in Kabul. Here in Darra, Geneva is also a matter of concern, but for different reasons. The price of arms has skyrocketed. Darra arms merchants don't know what the accords will mean for Afghanistan, but they know one thing for sure: Geneva will be bad for business. If they are right, and arms supplies dry up, the *mujahedin* may soon find themselves fighting under rather awkward circumstances.

My last trip to Afghanistan had been in 1984, and in those days, I couldn't see how the war would ever end. I knew the *mujahedin* would fight to the last man, and I didn't think the Soviets had shown any inclination to wimp out either.

I have to admit, though, that over the last year all this *glasnost* stuff started getting to me: could the Soviets really want out? This is how my thinking ran: 1) the Soviets are getting creamed in Afghanistan, and 2) they curse the day the Kabul government "invited" them to send 120,000 troops across the border. But 3) now they find themselves between a rock and a hard place because if they stay, 4) they will continue to alienate Third World countries whose affections they covet and 5) their image as a big, bad superpower will be tarnished because they will continue to take heavy losses without consolidating power behind the Kabul government. Therefore, 6) they need an agreement to spare themselves as much embarrassment as possible while they leave the Najibullah government twisting slowly in the wind.

So I found my mind working in State Department-think. Maybe this time the proverbial Foggy Bottom stuffed shirt with a hammer and sickle between his ears was right. (I hope I'm not telegraphing my punches too much here.)

I arrived in Peshawar, flagged down a horse cart, nearly ran over a threadbare dog, and trotted out to the headquarters of the Islamic Unity of Afghan Mujahedin (or whatever they are calling it this year) to get the inside scoop. The alliance's chairman is Hikmatyar Gulbuddin, the controversial Afghan leader about whom one Pakistani journalist told me, "It is a lie that Hikmatyar kills journalists, and anyone who says he does deserves to die." But that is another story.

After waiting for 45 minutes, I was shown into a rather pleasant sitting room. There was Hikmatyar, with a fair complexion and a black turban. He forced the obligatory green tea on me, then we were ready to begin.

This was just before Geneva, and Hikmatyar appeared resigned to the inevitable. But he was rather irritated at the possibility that people might think diplomacy was responsible for a Soviet pullout. "They are leaving Afghanistan not because their nature was changed and now they are merciful on Afghan nation. It does not mean abandoning of their imperialist designs. They are withdrawing because they have lost and because they have been forced to pull out. An invading army which is unable to achieve its military targets in a war . . . it is a defeat. It is a loser."

I pressed him further. Aside from being irrelevant, would the Geneva accords in any way hurt the resistance? Hikmatyar was evasive. Maybe he didn't want to be too critical of the United States and Pakistan, who have served the resistance well. Maybe his basic stump-speech doesn't allow for the admission of weakness. Whatever his motive, he didn't come up with any reason why the accords were actively bad. I tried and tried, but could not get him to say the word "sellout." So I left with the impression that his opposition was based primarily on sour grapes for not having been included in the Geneva negotiations.

It has long been the position of *mujahedin* leaders that they will not feel in any way bound by negotiations in which they are not participants. Not wholly unreasonable. In fact, I have always thought that these talks epitomized absurdist twentieth-century diplomacy. On the one hand, there is a war going on between the Soviet army and the Afghan *mujahedin*, with whom the Kremlin refuses to negotiate. On the other hand, there are negotiations in Geneva between Pakistan and the Najibullah regime in Afghanistan, which Pakistan does not recognize.

WHEN YOU TALK to the top guy anywhere, you are going to get the official line. For example, in Pakistan the official line is that Pakistan does not provide military aid to the *mujahedin*. You can actually find well-educated Pakistanis who believe this.

President Zia decided to leak the fact that the accords were about to be

Mr. Bork has written about Afghanistan for many publications, including The New Republic, *the* Wall Street Journal, Commentary, Soldier of Fortune, *and* NATIONAL REVIEW. *His trip was paid for by the World Youth Crusade for Freedom and the U.S. Industrial Council Education Foundation.*

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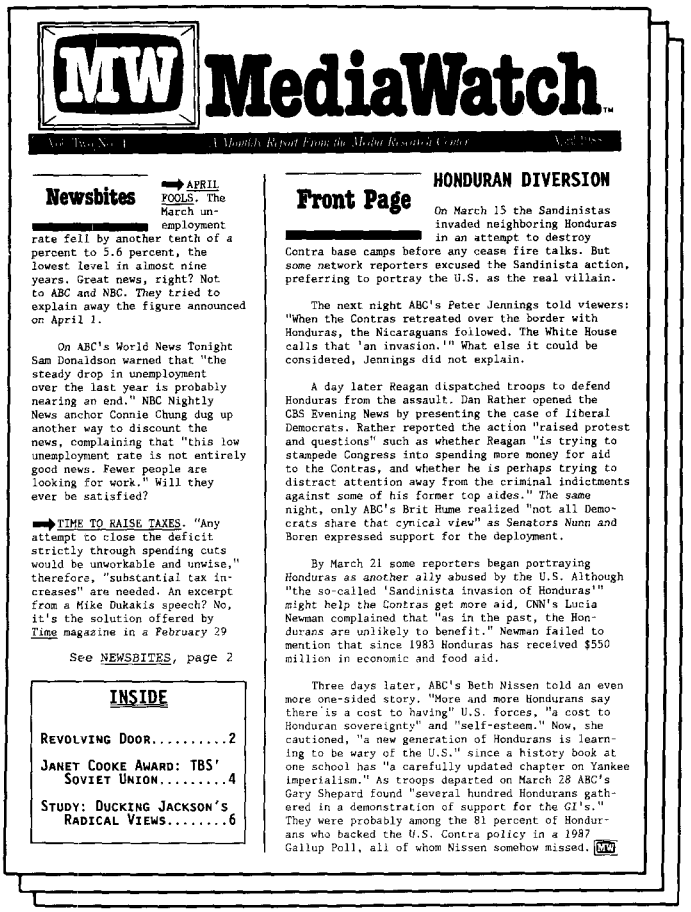

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Newsbites

➡APRIL FOOLS. The March unemployment rate fell by another tenth of a percent to 5.6 percent, the lowest level in almost nine years. Great news, right? Not to ABC and NBC. They tried to explain away the figure announced on April 1.

On ABC's World News Tonight Sam Donaldson warned that "the steady drop in unemployment over the last year is probably nearing an end." NBC Nightly News anchor Connie Chung dug up another way to discount the news, complaining that "this low unemployment rate is not entirely good news. Fewer people are looking for work." Will they ever be satisfied?

➡TIME TO RAISE TAXES. "Any attempt to close the deficit strictly through spending cuts would be unworkable and unwise," therefore, "substantial tax increases" are needed. An excerpt from a Mike Dukakis speech? No, it's the solution offered by *Time* magazine in a February 29

See NEWSBITES, page 2

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Front Page

HONDURAN DIVERSION

On March 15 the Sandinistas invaded neighboring Honduras in an attempt to destroy Contra base camps before any cease fire talks. But some network reporters excused the Sandinista action, preferring to portray the U.S. as the real villain.

The next night ABC's Peter Jennings told viewers: "When the Contras retreated over the border with Honduras, the Nicaraguans followed. The White House calls that 'an invasion.'" What else it could be considered, Jennings did not explain.

A day later Reagan dispatched troops to defend Honduras from the assault. Dan Rather opened the CBS Evening News by presenting the case of liberal Democrats. Rather reported the action "raised protest and questions" such as whether Reagan "is trying to stampede Congress into spending more money for aid to the Contras, and whether he is perhaps trying to distract attention away from the criminal indictments against some of his former top aides." The same night, only ABC's Brit Hume realized "not all Democrats share that cynical view" as Senators Nunn and Boren expressed support for the deployment.

By March 21 some reporters began portraying Honduras as another ally abused by the U.S. Although "the so-called 'Sandinista invasion of Honduras'" might help the Contras get more aid, CNN's Lucia Newman complained that "as in the past, the Hondurans are unlikely to benefit." Newman failed to mention that since 1983 Honduras has received $550 million in economic and food aid.

Three days later, ABC's Beth Nissen told an even more one-sided story. "More and more Hondurans say there is a cost to having" U.S. forces, "a cost to Honduran sovereignty" and "self-esteem." Now, she cautioned, "a new generation of Hondurans is learning to be wary of the U.S." since a history book at one school has "a carefully updated chapter on Yankee imperialism." As troops departed on March 28 ABC's Gary Shepard found "several hundred Hondurans gathered in a demonstration of support for the GI's." They were probably among the 81 percent of Hondurans who backed the U.S. Contra policy in a 1987 Gallup Poll, all of whom Nissen somehow missed. MW

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—Joseph Sobran
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signed. He did this in a speech before Parliament in which he also mentioned, with a straight face, that Pakistan does not now and never has provided arms to the *mujahedin*. No wonder he had no trouble signing a treaty pledging Pakistan to "prevent within its territory the presence, harboring, in camps and bases or otherwise, organizing, training, financing, equipping, and arming of individuals and political, ethnic, and any other groups for the purpose of creating subversion, disorder, or unrest . . ." etc. I guess if Zia can keep a straight face, the accords might just work.

The official line in the resistance is that reports of foreign assistance have been greatly exaggerated. The word Hikmatyar used was "rumors." Rumors hardly explain where the U.S.-made Stingers come from, or why so many weapons "captured" from the Russians bear Chinese writing. The official *mujahed* line about the Geneva accords is: "They don't make any difference and we are totally opposed to them." The more I thought about it, the more my head hurt. It reminded me of a computer hack I knew in college who used to get a kick out of saying things like, "This statement is false." For relief I went to see Abdul Haq.

I HAVE BEEN hanging around the Afghanistan scene for about five years, and in that time I came to the conclusion that Abdul Haq was the commander most likely to kick ass. There are a lot of good commanders in Afghanistan, but while most commanders are blowing up power lines, Abdul Haq is blowing up hydro-electric dams. And when most commanders are fighting in the hills, Abdul Haq is fighting in Kabul. He has been fighting the Kabul government since he was 15, and he just turned thirty.

In the summer of 1984 I was in a village in Kabul Province. A few days before my arrival, the Soviets had found out Abdul Haq and his men were there and sent 16 Mi-24s to bomb the hell out of the valley. The Soviets don't like Abdul Haq.

On this trip, Kurt Lohbeck, the CBS man in Peshawar, helped me set up the interview. He told Haq, "This guy is all right. He comes from a good family. President Reagan nominated his father to be on the Supreme Court." Haq's reaction went something like this: "That hashish-smoking judge! I won't talk to the son either!"

I thought this was a harmless case of mistaken identity, so when I went to see Haq, I mentioned it. But Haq was irritated that Lohbeck had divulged his mistake. The only thing he had to say on the subject was, "Bull." He said this several times.

On the subject of the Geneva accords he was more forthcoming. First, he refused to buy the idea that Afghanistan is the Soviets' Vietnam. "We cannot take the American and Soviet the same. Anything happen [in Vietnam], even one soldier die, you will have his biography, his pictures, his family on the TV. There was a court-martial if any of the soldier did a small thing, then a big television cover our soldier did commit this crime. Every day you will see a strike, demonstration. America lost war in Washington. Would it be possible for the Soviets to lose war in Moscow? In the Soviet system, if they lost war in Moscow, not only lost war in Afghanistan, they are going to lose the regime, too."

But aren't the Soviets committed to pulling out? "In a few months they will say, 'Because America not stop their support, because Pakistan not close the border, because the *mujahedin* not stop fighting, we cannot go.' At the last moment they will have an excuse."

I went back to the American Club and asked Massoud (the best bartender in the Islamic world) to pour me a double. Abdul Haq had shattered my newfound optimism about the prospects for peace in Afghanistan.

Over the last year we have been presented with a rather misleading image of the USSR as a beleaguered superpower with its back against the wall. The fact is that Gorbachev is riding an unprecedented wave of worldwide popularity. And somehow the stories suggesting that the Soviets "don't want to be in Afghanistan and are just looking for a way to get out" seem to get a lot more play than ones about the mass murder, torture, and other war crimes routinely committed as part of the Soviets' Afghanistan strategy.

Also virtually ignored are the hundreds of civilian deaths caused by the Soviet-sponsored campaign of random terrorist bombings in Pakistan. The media find it rather hard to reconcile this story with the miracle of *glasnost*.

And what is so good about a treaty that lets the Soviets resupply Kabul, but effectively bars the U.S. from resupplying the *mujahedin*? At the last minute, the Soviets agreed to let the U.S. aid continue, but the treaty forbids Pakistan from serving as a conduit for arms. How are we going to get the weapons to the resistance?

ON MAY 15 the Soviet Union is supposed to begin troop withdrawals from Afghanistan. Here is what to look for during the following weeks and months. 1) Troop rotation masquerading as troop withdrawal. The Soviets have tried this one before, and it has always been worth a few good headlines. 2) Partial pullout. The Soviets may pull out of the southern two-thirds of Afghanistan, but hold on to the northern third indefinitely. 3) Pullout of ground forces and escalation of air support. (I think this is the most likely one.) Throughout the war, the commonly quoted figure of 120,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan has been very misleading; the Soviets can easily stage operations and air strikes from their own territory, just across the Afghan border. As ground troops leave, expect to see an attempt by the Soviet air force to turn Afghanistan into a parking lot on behalf of the Najibullah government. 4) Bonus. Regardless of which strategy the Soviets choose they will benefit from the fact that most onlookers, particularly in America, will assume that, with the signing of the Geneva accords, the war is over. In reality, the signing of the accords has turned off the heat. The Kremlin now has breathing room. □

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YES, GEORGE—THAT'S MY BABY

THOUGH I'VE grown used to being ridiculed from time to time by the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, and other establishment media, I was a little surprised to be accused by George Gilder in the pages of NATIONAL REVIEW [May 13] of surrendering to the "strange cult of child sacrifice." To paraphrase Mark Twain, the reports of my surrender have been greatly exaggerated. But, whether we like it or not, child care is one of the top domestic-policy issues confronting Congress today. It is time for conservatives to join the debate. I only hope that we will allow a little substance to sneak into our rhetorical railings.

I appreciated Mr. Gilder's kind words about my leadership in other battles: school prayer, ERA, labor-law reform, Grove City, SALT II, and, of course, the right to life. I am just sorry he thinks that all of these "previous struggles will go for nought" because I have dared to suggest that we conservatives should start looking at constructive solutions to the child-care problem in this country.

I realize that he does not agree that there is a problem. In Utah—a state that has a strong pro-family sentiment and little incentive apart from economic need for a mother to work outside the home—54 per cent of all women are in the labor force. Of those Utah women who work, only 30 per cent work part time. More than half of all married women and 44 per cent of mothers with pre-school children have joined the labor force. More than 10 per cent of Utah's families are headed by women; there are over 64,000 children in these families. In Utah, there are just under 300,000 children ages zero to 13 who need some kind of care outside the home for some part of the work week. It is true that about half of these children will be well cared for by a grandmother, aunt, or trusted neighbor. But that still leaves 140,000 to 150,000 children in Utah alone who need another arrangement.

Mr. Gilder claims that I want "traditional families to promote child abandonment by other families under siege." This reminds me of the proponents of the Grove City legislation who claimed that my opposition to that bill was based on my secret desire to subsidize discrimination. No one wants to see broken marriages or children warehoused like factory inventory. I have often stated my personal belief that children are best cared for and nurtured in the home with a full-time parent. But, for thousands of American families, the one-parent-working/one-parent-at-home household is not an option.

Others who need child care are those families that have relatively low incomes. Now, I always thought that conservatives championed individual initiative and hard work. I frankly admire low-income families that are determined to live independently even if it takes two incomes to do it. Nearly one-fourth of the women in the work force today are married to men who earn less than $20,000 per year, and 15 per cent have husbands earning less than $15,000. What should be done for these families? Should we adopt a zero-children policy for families below a certain income level, or should we pass a guaranteed national income high enough to allow mothers to remain at home?

Even if single parents and low-income parents are the primary users and beneficiaries of child-care programs, does it follow that these families are responsible for family breakdown and other social problems? Of course not. While it is a common liberal trait to pity the disadvantaged in our society as well as to advocate government policies designed to take care of them, I have never known conservatives to harbor such elitist views. The idea that "the female-headed families of today create an unending chain of burdens for tomorrow . . ." is equally supercilious. Why should we assume that such families will always be poor and their children disruptive juvenile delinquents? Frankly, I cannot buy the argument that single-parent families are the root of all evil in America today and that we can prevent family break-ups by ignoring the child-care issue.

FINALLY, lest the readers of Mr. Gilder's article get the wrong information about my bill, let me assure them that the "Child-Care Services Improvement Act" is fundamentally different from Senator Dodd's "Act for Better Child Care." My proposal invites local entities, including churches, to develop and operate their own child-care programs. It recognizes the importance of family-based child-care providers and encourages private business to provide child care through tax and liability reforms. My bill is not a freebie for privileged families, and it does not disturb informal child-care arrangements with family members or neighbors. Furthermore, Mr. Gilder's assertion that a compromise with Senators Dodd and Kennedy is my number-one legislative priority is quite incorrect. Compromise is not my objective—a sensible child-care policy is. Frankly, I resent the implication that I will acquiesce to a watered-down ABC bill just for the sake of getting a bill.

Mr. Gilder was right when he said I was soliciting conservative support for my bill—I am. Thoughtful conservatives cannot afford to sit on the sidelines. If we respond to the child-care issue with inapt platitudes, our mutually held concerns about children and families will be ignored as the rest of America fashions a solution to the problem. □

Mr. Hatch is the junior senator from Utah.

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DON HODEL

Attack of the KILLER PUNDITS

In 1980, when Ronald Reagan swept into the White House and the Republicans took the Senate, many concluded that America had turned decisively to the Right. Eight years later, the old liberal coalition, exhilarated at the prospect of overturning Reaganism, has launched an aggressive campaign to convince us that the conservative movement is a thing of the past.

In the 1988 primary season, different components of the Reagan coalition naturally engaged in speculations (now over) about who would lead the GOP in the next round of battles for conservative values. But the Democratic coalition and its allies among liberal political commentators are much more interested in getting us to jettison conservative values themselves. To this end, they have resurrected two old tactics.

Tactic #1: *Convince Republicans the conservative policies that brought Reagan's victories will today only bring defeat.*

One year ago, *Time* published an essay: "A Change in the Weather—As Reagan's era recedes, compassion and government activism regain favor." "Americans," the essay announced, are "coming back home from the picnic of restored nationalism and morale," and are recognizing that it is "time to move beyond the era of self-congratulation and beer-commercial patriotism." In any event, *Time* reported, conservatism "was never an agenda that took deep root anyway." The political rhetoric of compassion is "a signal of [the public's] recoil against the meannesses of Reaganism . . ."

That's quite a mouthful. In support of its bold assertions, the essay trotted out polling data that show that 60 per cent of those surveyed "support increased spending for social programs even if it would require an increase in taxes," and that, by a 3 to 1 margin, respondents want to increase spending for social rather than for military programs. That kind of poll doesn't specify the nature or extent of the proposed increase in social programs, much less the size of the tax hike ($2? $50? $500?) people are willing to endure. And, of course, it doesn't tell us which sacrifices in America's defense capability the public would find acceptable.

I don't buy the theory that America is swinging left. The coalition Ronald Reagan trounced in 1984 is just trying to drag us that way. A Gallup survey published last fall by Times Mirror found that 43 per cent of those polled called themselves conservative, while only 30 per cent admitted to being liberal.

Mr. Hodel is Secretary of the Interior.

Nonetheless, certain conservative commentators seem to be picking up and relaying the *Time* essay's central thesis. George Will recently wrote in his *Washington Post* column that "George McGovern . . . may soon savor a victory especially sweet for being long delayed. The conservative era, such as it was, is coming to an emphatic close." Following Super Tuesday, William Safire advised that "the center of gravity of the Republican Party has moved inexorably to the left."

I think these pundits are wrong. All of the Republican presidential candidates projected messages that would have been deemed radically right-wing in the pre-Reagan era. As Jack Kemp has remarked, "There are no liberals left in the Republican Party. We're all conservatives." Nevertheless, there is a danger that remarks like Will's and Safire's may end up becoming self-fulfilling prophecies if GOP opinion leaders become convinced that, in order to win in November, the Republican Party must build bridges to the Left.

The GOP tried that strategy ritualistically for decades; it doesn't work. The bridges always collapse, leaving Republican candidates high and dry on the losing side. That's what happened in 1986: in one case after another, Republican senatorial candidates sought to distance themselves from the Reagan Administration, and not just on one or two unpopular issues. These Republicans, some of whom had been elected to the Senate in 1980 on Ronald Reagan's coattails, ignored conservative themes, and in some cases rejected offers of assistance from conservative groups. They lost races they should have won, and the GOP lost the Senate.

One trouble with kowtowing to liberal Democratic idols is that Republicans will never be able to outbid politicians like House Speaker Jim Wright. According to the *Washington Post*, a senior House Democrat quotes Wright as saying: "Taxing and spending is what we're supposed to do; taxing and spending is what government is all about." We know from experience: if the only difference between Democrats and Republicans is that we want to spend slightly less money on the same "desperately needed" social programs, the GOP loses. Republicans who fail to articulate conservative values only end up sounding cheap and mean-spirited. Without a positive message of their own to respond to, conservative voters stay home and conservative activists fail to work precincts, man volunteer telephone banks, and shoulder the other inelegant

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but essential campaign chores for which slick TV advertising can never substitute.

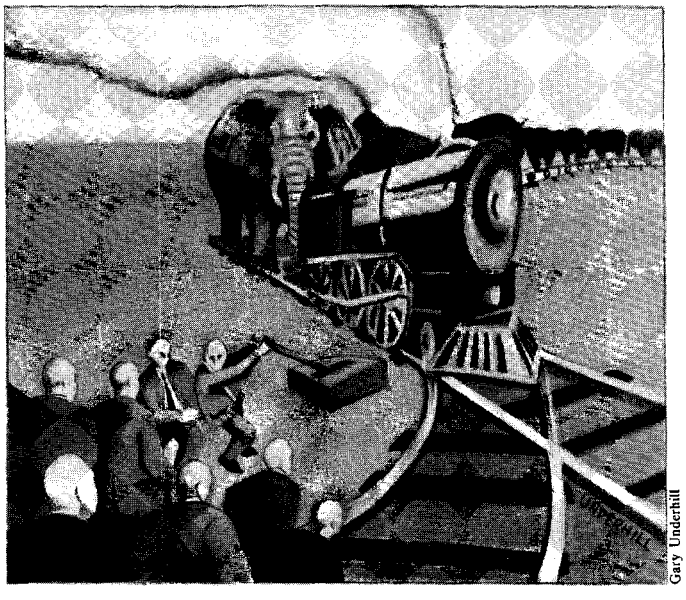
Nor will we deserve to win if the only thing the Republicans offer is a promise to manage the ever-growing Federal Government more efficiently than the Democrats. Political values, like moral ones, have consequences. Republicans will deserve to lose future elections if, by heeding false calls to sell principles for votes, we confuse politics, the world's second oldest profession, with the world's oldest. We have won not by pandering to polls, but by mobilizing our own majority.

Tactic #2: *Divide and conquer.*

As Bill Rusher pointed out in *The Rise of the Right*, the winning conservative coalition consists of three forces: economic conservatives, who favor free markets and limited government; social conservatives, who stress the importance of family and religious values; and foreign-policy conservatives, who emphasize that America must be militarily strong and diplomatically resolute to withstand the threat of Soviet imperialism. Together, this tripartite coalition delivered tens of millions of traditionally Democratic votes to the Republican Party. Faced with the strength of this coalition, Democratic strategists now have hit upon a new use for an old tactic: make the conservatives fight among themselves.

There are any number of ways to play Divide and Conquer. Some journalists do it by repeatedly asserting that the conservative coalition has collapsed. "Republicans in 1988 risk a split between their traditional elite and populist newcomers who helped elect Reagan," trumpets the lead of an article last fall in the *National Journal*. David Shribman, who writes about politics for the *Wall Street Journal*, reported last spring that "a bitter struggle to shape conservatism in the post-Reagan era is already getting under way, and there is little hope of any resolution before the first political tests early next year." More recently Shribman quotes Kirk O'Donnell, president of the Center for National Policy, a Democratic think-tank, as saying "the Republican Party is a coalition that is about to fracture."

Another version of this tactic is to egg on one component of the coalition against another. The *Washington Post* reported that, at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association last year, Arizona State University's Warren E. Miller argued "that the chances of . . . Bush defeating a Democratic opponent in 1988 would improve in direct proportion to Bush's willingness to do battle with the Christian Right during the primaries." Taking the other side, in their new book *Politics and Society in the South*, Earl and Merle Black caustically refer to "country clubs and magnificent resorts, the natural habitats of the Republican elite . . ."


Gary Underhill

Even conservatives play. Two days after the Vice President's third-place finish in the Iowa caucuses, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that well-known political strategist Kevin Phillips "thinks Mr. Bush's best chance to restore his fortunes is to pick a fight with Mr. Robertson." In a *Washington Post* article last August, Phillips asserted that "the Reagan coalition . . . is breaking down."

Phillips is wrong: the Vice President has triumphed without attacking Mr. Robertson—indeed, he has won the support of many social conservatives.

THERE *is* trouble ahead, however, if the GOP takes social conservatives for granted. Southern voters, blue-collar voters, and ethnic voters deserted the Democratic Party in droves when Democratic candidates failed to address their fears about the breakdown of the family, drugs and pornography, and the triumph of Sixties morality over America's traditional values.

But the Republican Party can't count on maintaining the political support of these traditionally Democratic social conservatives forever. Memories of the Democrats' excesses may fade—and a good many Democrats appear to have learned their lesson: when it comes to extolling "family values," the Democrats' rhetoric (if not their performance) is just as good as Republicans'. As Bill Lacy, formerly of the White House Office of Political Affairs, puts it, "It is important that the Republican Party understand that they are now part of our coalition and that the issues that brought them in are crucial and cannot be dropped." The back burner simply isn't any place for the legitimate concerns of social conservatives.

The GOP ought to invite social conservatives into its party organization. The other side of the coin, of course, is that the newcomers ought to avoid unnecessary fights with those party officials who, although they might not have supported Robertson, have labored long and hard for the conservative coalition. How Republican officials treat social conservatives between now and New Orleans may well determine whether Republican candidates receive their enthusiastic support.

What should the GOP avoid? Shrill statements like the one attributed by the *Washington Post* to a South Carolina Republican who compared a Robertson meeting to "a Nazi pep rally." Nor do we need the kind of blood-letting evident in January's Michigan caucuses, which led Rich Bond, Vice President Bush's Deputy Campaign Manager, to describe Michigan aptly as "the Beirut of Republican politics," and set Congressman Guy Vander Jagt worrying about losing the "blue-collar, suburban Detroit vote Pat Robertson attracted, [which] was an important part of the Reagan coalition." I agree.

This is a matter of some urgency, for the conservative

(Continues on page 60)

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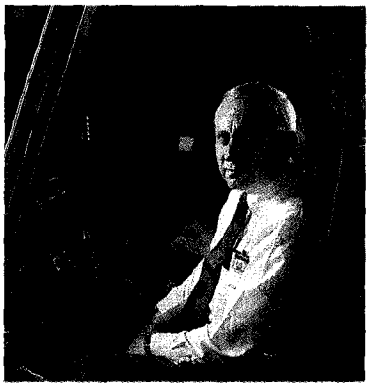

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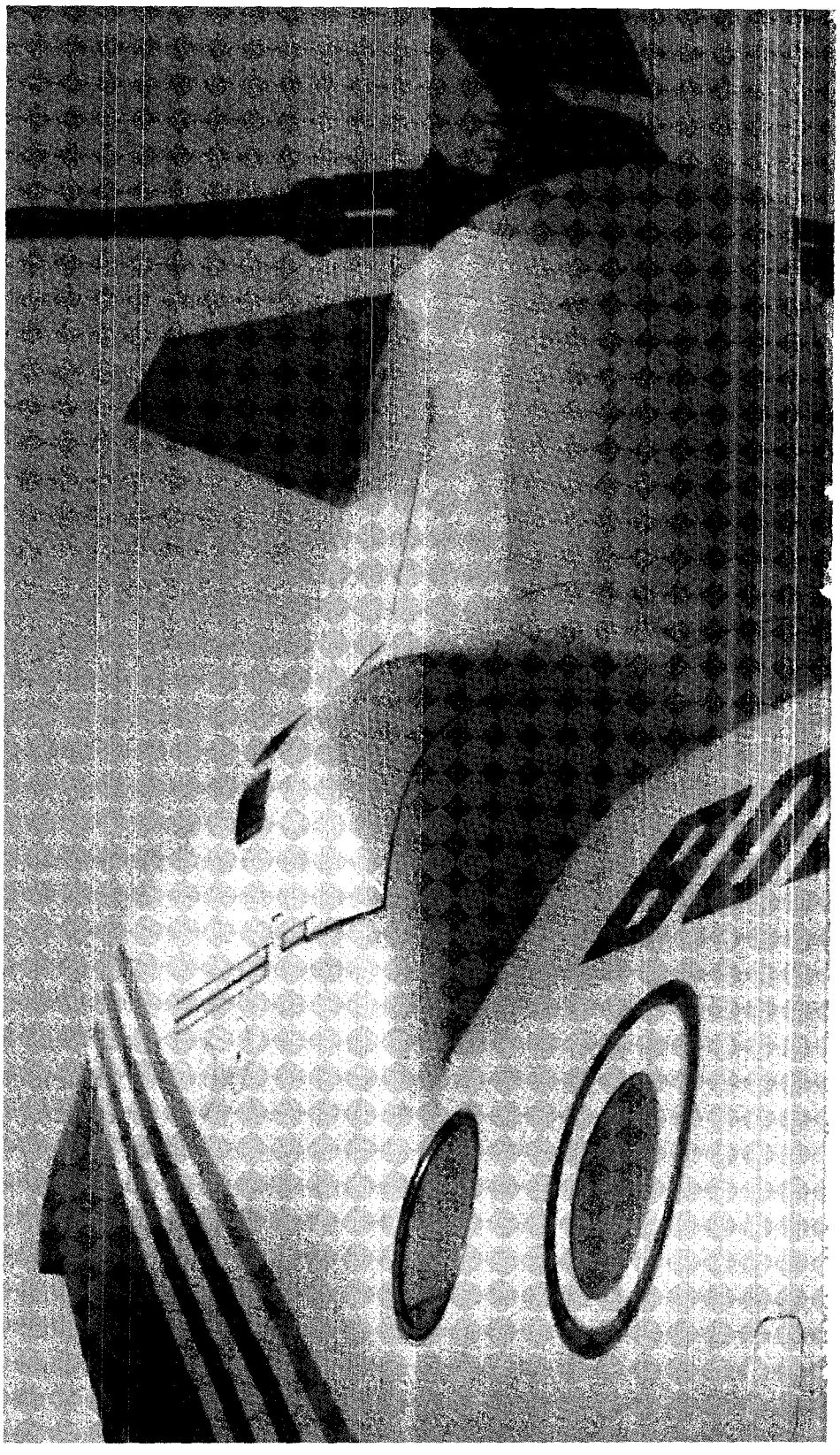

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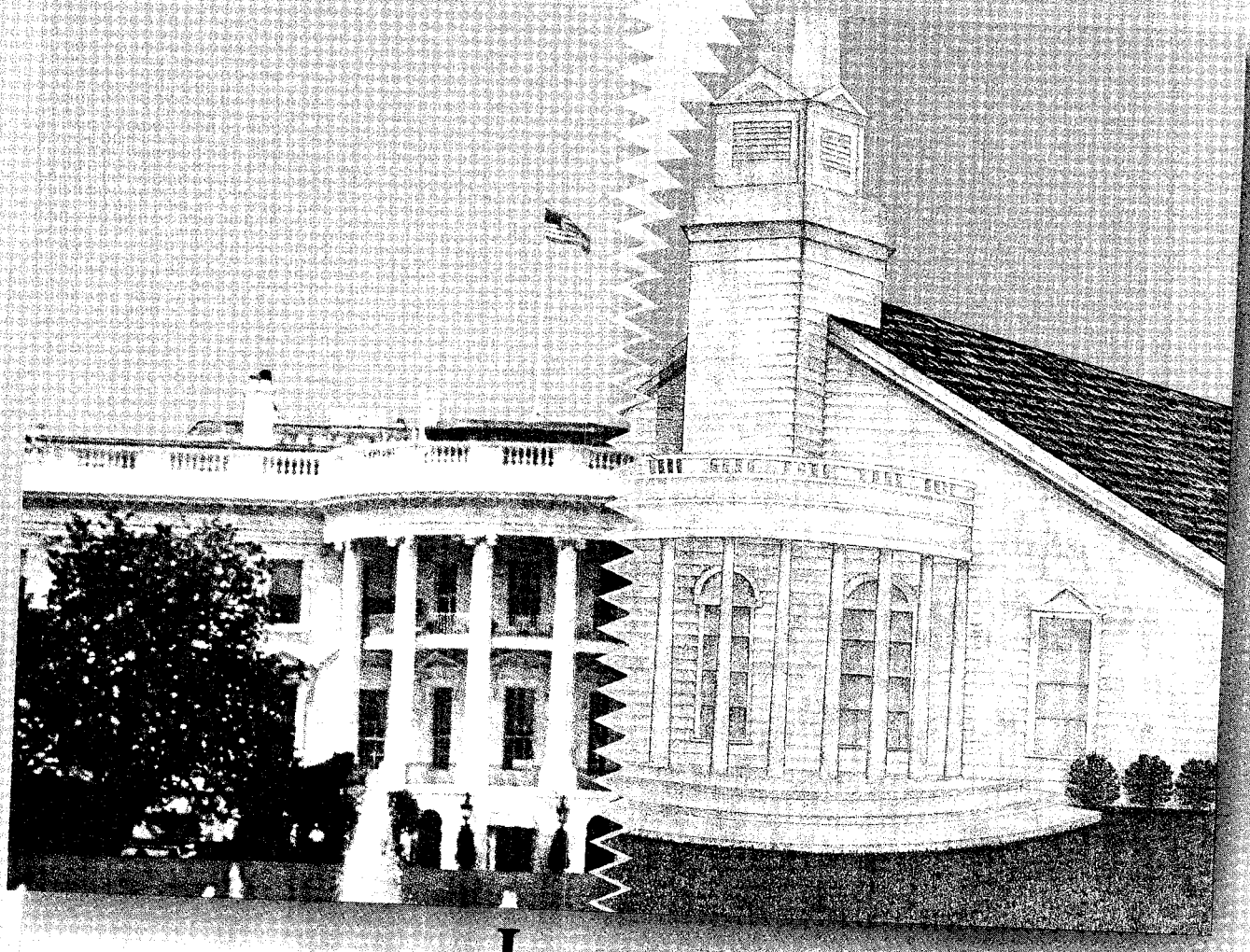
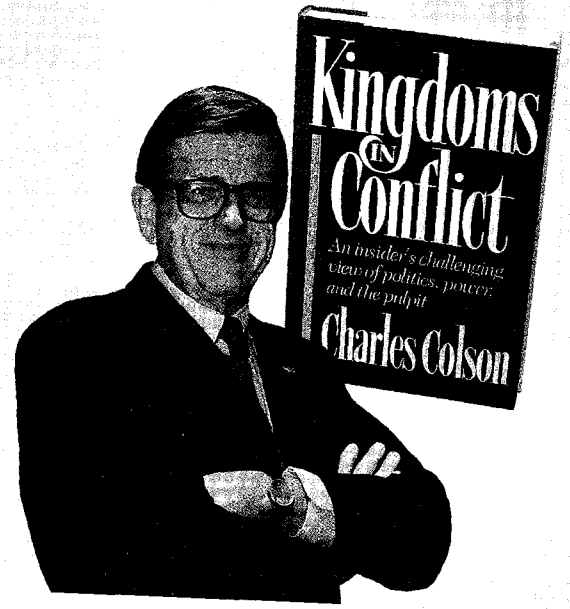
1988... WHICH KINGDOM COME?





Is 1988 the beginning of a struggle that could fatally injure the body politic? Chuck Colson assesses the American situation with the eye of an insider—one who has stood in the Oval Office as well as the pulpit and knows the perils of mixing the two.

"Colson's achievement is fantastic... a book of heart-stopping poignancy, realism and hope. You must read this one!"
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WHY THE WEST?

ONE OF THE most cherished achievements of Western civilization is its tradition of free and open debate. In particular, the university has served, and should of course continue to serve, as a forum for the free exchange of ideas—an exchange in which all opinions, even those that may be unfashionable or unpopular, are welcomed and even encouraged. In this spirit of open inquiry, I appreciate the opportunity to speak here at Stanford on the subject, "Why the West?"

Stanford's decision of March 31 to alter its Western Culture program was not a product of enlightened debate, but rather an unfortunate capitulation to a campaign of pressure politics and intimidation. For evidence of this, let me briefly turn to the sequence of events as I understand it from press accounts and from individuals at Stanford.

The Western Culture program was established in 1980. By all accounts, the program was immensely popular with both faculty and students—in fact, a good many students considered it their most worthwhile academic experience at Stanford. In the spring of 1986, a small but very vocal group of students called on the university to abolish the program. In its place, they proposed a course that would emphasize the "contributions of cultures disregarded and/or distorted by the present program." This marked the beginning of a steady stream of charges against the existing course, against the supporters of the existing course, and against the Western tradition that sustained the existing course—charges of racism, sexism, imperialism, elitism, and ethnocentrism.

The Stanford administration appointed a task force to evaluate the program. The group's preliminary report—which was to become the basic working document for the "Cultures, Ideas, and Values" (CIV) course that replaced Western Culture—prompted a great deal of discussion and debate among faculty and students alike. What is unfortunate is that one side of the debate was, in certain subtle and not so subtle ways, discouraged from making its case. Supporters of the proposal were encouraged to air their views, and they did so frequently and forcefully—in the papers, at rallies, and during demonstrations. Last spring some members of the so-called Rainbow Agenda student group occupied President Donald Kennedy's office for five hours and released a set of ten demands, one of which was the adoption of the task-force proposal. So far as I know, no one was punished or even censured for this occupation. When, however, opponents of the proposal ventured words of criticism, they were publicly taken to task by the administration for reacting too hastily or harshly.

Last fall, a faculty-senate subcommittee met to consider the CIV proposal. Students disrupted this meeting, chanting, "Down with racism, down with Western Culture, up with diversity." One participant in the interruption was quoted as saying, "The [subcommittee] was getting a bit timid and we wanted them to be well aware of the dedication to changing the Western Culture program." The subcommittee got the message and sent the proposal on to the faculty senate for prompt consideration.

The faculty senate deliberated, discussed, and amended the CIV proposal at several meetings. But at the meeting on March 31, there was a heightened sense of urgency. By this point the issue had been publicized extensively, and many simply wanted to get it over with. The proponents of CIV demanded that the matter be brought to a swift and certain conclusion. Amendments proposed by the faculty senate's steering committee that would have shifted CIV to a more Western orientation were unacceptable, they said. President Kennedy urged the senate not to allow the prospect of a "best" proposal to undermine its chances of a "very good" one.

Why was it so necessary for the senate to make its decision on that particular day? More important, why was it so necessary for the senators to accept the proposal without the steering committee's amendments? The answer may be found in the answer to my next question: Why were there two hundred angry CIV supporters apparently ready to disrupt the meeting if a vote on a particular amendment went the "wrong way"? "We would have walked in. We would have interrupted," a student leader was quoted as saying.

MANY MORE instances, much more evidence could be adduced. But this much is clear: CIV was primarily a political, not an educational decision. The tactics of intimidation that were employed throughout the debate's two-year history not only brought about CIV's success; they were—and they continue to be—central to CIV's meaning. The cultivation and promotion of "diversity" is held up as the primary goal of CIV, but its supporters have done much to discourage free and open debate of the issue.

There have been attempts to portray CIV as a minor pedagogical change—a slight alteration in a single Stanford freshman requirement. Indeed, at first blush, CIV has an air of intellectual respectability to it. The plan for the new course contains the language of something intellectually promising—it talks about "diversity," "self-understanding," and "the common intellectual experience." But the fact is that the old core reading list of 15 significant

Mr. Bennett has been Secretary of Education since 1985. This article is adapted from his speech at Stanford University last month.

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works in Western philosophy and literature has been thrown out. Instead, CIV instructors will decide year by year what the content of the course will be. And following the guidelines set down on March 31, the instructors must include works by "women, minorities, and persons of color," and at least one work per quarter that explicitly deals with race, gender or class. Does anyone doubt that selecting works based on the ethnicity or gender of their authors trivializes the academic enterprise? Does anyone really doubt the political agenda underlying these provisions?

THE EVENTS of the past two years at Stanford, therefore, serve as a striking example of what Allan Bloom has called "the closing of the American mind." In the name of "opening minds" and "promoting diversity," we have seen in this instance the closing of the Stanford mind. Observing the events from close by, the distinguished American philosopher Sidney Hook has written that he regards "as far more significant than the ultimate constitution and fate of the course in Western culture, the manner in which the discussion at Stanford has so far been conducted." Professor Hook finds that manner of discussion deeply troubling for American higher education. And so do I.

Life, of course, will go on. In fact, now that the debate appears to be over, one can predict what is likely to happen. First, I believe, Stanford will be praised for being "forward-looking," "progressive," and "innovative." Second, other universities will decide that they should change their programs in the same or similar ways. Third, Stanford will continue to prosper. Some alumni will be uneasy about what has happened here, but only a few of them will withhold their support from the university on that account. Fourth, I suspect that this will be only the beginning—the first of many chapters. The methods that succeeded in pushing CIV through the faculty senate have shown that intimidation works—that intimidation *can* take the place of reason. The loudest voices have won, not through force of argument, but through bullying, threatening, and name-calling. That's not the way a university should work.

Fifth and finally, Stanford will be harmed—though perhaps not visibly, perhaps not for a while—by these recent events. I say "not visibly" because many of those who deplore what has transpired here will not say so publicly. They know that speaking out against CIV will invite charges of racism—an utterly false but highly damaging accusation. To his credit, President Kennedy recently spoke out against such name-calling, such McCarthyism of the Left. But the name-calling, having been tolerated for so long, is not likely to cease. For now the defenders of Western culture will mostly confine themselves to talking quietly with one another about what has happened. But they know what they know, and others around the country know it too: that for a moment, a great university was brought low by the very forces that modern universities came into being to oppose —ignorance, irrationality, and intimidation.

Our universities should oppose these forces because our universities are the bearers, the transmitters, of Western civilization. And above all else, Western civilization stands for the claim that the life of the mind can and should prevail over ignorance, irrationality, and intimidation. That is why it is ironically appropriate that the issue on which Stanford capitulated was whether a course in Western civilization should be included in the freshman curriculum. The issue of the merits of the course came to stand for the issue of the merits of Western civilization as a whole. The core issue under debate is: Why the West?

Why must we study, nurture, and defend the West? I'll give you four reasons. First, because it is ours. It is the culture in which we live and in which most of us will continue to live, whether our grandparents are African or Asian, Hungarian or Mexican, Muslim or Shinto. Our institutions and ideals—our schools and universities and their great, still honored traditions, our churches and synagogues, our government and laws, even our notions of friendship and family—have all acquired their shape and significance through the course of Western history, largely though not exclusively through the European experience. To be sure, China, India, Africa, and other societies and cultures have made contributions to our institutions and ideals. Where contributions have been made, they must be acknowledged. Where new contributions emerge, they must be included. Historically, this has in fact been the standard Western practice: Western civilization is strong in part because it is open—it studies and learns from others.

The second reason we must study the West is that it is good. It is not all good. There are certainly great blots on its record. Nevertheless, the West has produced the world's most just and effective system of government: the system of representative democracy. It has set the moral, political, economic, and social standards for the rest of the world. To quote Allan Bloom, "Our story is the majestic and triumphant march of two principles: freedom and equality." And those principles now define no less than a universal standard of legitimacy.

This leads me to the third reason—the reason that Western civilization's critics seem to have entirely missed: the West is a source of incomparable intellectual complexity and diversity and depth. Western civilization is emphatically *not* an endorsement of a particular "party line." On the contrary, the West's long history of self-

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critical dialogue is one of its greatest strengths. Since the time of Socrates, what has distinguished the West is its insistence, in principle, on the questioning of accepted ways and beliefs—its openness to the appeal to nature, to use Socratic terms, as opposed to mere convention. It is true that the West has often failed, beginning with the death of Socrates, fully to live up to this principle—but the principle has always animated the Western experience.

The point for contemporary higher education is this: The classics of Western philosophy and literature amount to a great debate on the perennial questions. To deprive students of this debate is to condemn them to improvise their ways of living in ignorance of their real options and the best arguments for each. In the tradition of Peter Abelard, our civilization offers a great *sic et non* on the human condition. Consider the point/counterpoint of Western thought. On the ends of government, whom do we follow—Madison or Marx? On the merits of the religious life—Aquinas or Voltaire? On the nobility of the warrior—Homer or Erasmus? On the worth of reason—Hegel or Kierkegaard? On the role of women—Wollstonecraft or Schopenhauer? The study of Western civilization is not, then, a case for ideology; it is a case for philosophy and for thoughtfulness. It considers not only the one hand, but the one hand *and* the other—and, just as often, the third and fourth hands as well. Those who take the study of the West seriously end up living a variety of different lives and arriving at a diversity of opinions and positions. And for this diversity, in the West as nowhere else, there is unparalleled tolerance and encouragement.

Indeed, some of the West's greatest teachers and statesmen are those who have participated most vigorously in this continual process of dissent, discussion, and redirection. In our time, this tradition is well exemplified by the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. Reverend King immersed himself in the writings of the great philosophers: "from Plato to Aristotle," as he wrote, "down to Rousseau, Hobbes, Bentham, Mill, and Locke." These great thinkers —these *Western* thinkers—helped teach and inspire Reverend King to tear down the ugly injustices of Jim Crow.

It is true that Reverend King was also inspired by the example of a non-Westerner—Gandhi. We should give credit where credit is due, and we should study Gandhi's thought and deeds, as we should study the thought and deeds of others from outside the West. But I would add that in this case, when we study Gandhi, we shall see that Gandhi was himself very much indebted to such Western philosophers as Henry David Thoreau, and to such Anglo-American traditions as the rule of law. So even in studying Gandhi's East, one cannot escape the West. Now, of course, nothing stops Stanford from requiring a course in non-Western traditions of thought; indeed much commends such an idea. But such an idea in no way diminishes the importance, the necessity, of studying the West.

EACH YEAR since becoming Education Secretary, I've been invited to the Martin Luther King Center to deliver an address marking Reverend King's birthday. And each year I speak of how Reverend King drew strength and purpose from his education, an education in the Western intellectual tradition. Last year, at Stanford, Reverend King's birthday was marked by Jesse Jackson leading a group of students in the now famous cry: "Hey, hey, ho, ho, Western Culture's got to go." Just a week earlier, I had been at the King Center talking about Reverend King's self-proclaimed debt to Western thought. Either Reverend King was right, or Reverend Jackson is right. I'll stand with King.

This brings me to my final reason for studying and protecting the West and its unique tradition of open discourse and philosophic inquiry: We must do so because the West is under attack. Oftentimes the assault comes from outside the West, but sometimes, sadly, it comes from within. Those who attack Western values and accomplishments do not see an America that—despite its imperfections, its weaknesses, its sins—has served and continues to serve as a beacon to the world. Instead, theirs is an America hopelessly tainted—tainted by racism, imperialism, sexism, capitalism, ethnocentrism, elitism, and a host of other "isms." Such rhetoric has been used over and over again as a justification for the abolition of the Western Culture program here at Stanford. As one member of the Stanford community has said: "The Western Culture program gives intellectual justification to sexism, racism, and national chauvinism." So, the assertion goes, by diminishing the study of the West in our colleges and universities, we can make an important step toward ridding the world of these unholy "isms."

I would remind those critics that it is Western civilization that has taught much of the world about the evils of "sexism, racism, and national chauvinism." Indeed, it is the West that has given us the very language used to attack the West here at Stanford. After all, where do the concepts of rights, equality, and, yes, diversity come from? It is in the West, it is from the West, that we have learned—over time, through struggle, after bloodshed—to stand squarely behind liberty and equality for all people. An honest study of the West will provide the reasons for its protection. But how are we to protect the West if we set about systematically robbing ourselves of opportunities to know and study it?

LET ME therefore say to Stanford students: Study the West, study it well and thoughtfully, and build on that study as you continue your education. In saying "study the West," I don't mean study *only* the West. Of course not. But if what I've said here is even partly true, the West is worthy of your study.

Let me close with a quote from William James. Speaking at a Founders' Day celebration on this campus in 1906, James set forth his vision for Stanford's "ideal destiny":

> Can we not, as we sit here today, frame a vision of what [Stanford] may be a century hence, with the honors of the intervening years all rolled up in its traditions? Not vast, but intense; . . . a place for . . . training scholars; devoted to truth; radiating influence; setting standards. . . .

Now, almost "a century hence," we can ask whether Stanford has lived up to James's vision. For the moment, in this instance, I believe it has not. But it is not too late. Stanford can turn the events of the past two years to its advantage by rejecting sloganeering and political pressure. In so doing, Stanford would be true to its purpose as, in James's words, a place devoted to truth and setting standards. □

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HANGING JUDGES

PATRICK LEAHY can't stop bragging. "No 'iffy' nominees are going to get through now," he crowed to the *New York Times* on March 24 after Democrats appeared to have successfully blocked the nomination of Professor Bernard Siegan to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. "The Administration knows it has to send us consensus candidates." Just a year earlier, the Democratic senator from Vermont warned an audience at Georgetown Law School that the Democrats were ready to play "hardball" with judicial nominees. He wasn't kidding.

In 1987, on regaining control of the Senate Judiciary Committee, the Democrats set up a special unit of several full-time staffers to investigate nominees. Within six months, Robert Bork's nomination had been crushed, and the campaign to "scrutinize" other nominees into oblivion was in high gear. The payoff is praise from Democratic special-interest groups; the price is protracted delays and spurious charges against nominees—leaving the nominees in limbo.

As we go to press, there are 22 appointees awaiting Judiciary Committee action; only five have been scheduled for hearings, let alone votes, in the next month. In the first quarter of 1986, 95 per cent of the 21 pending nominees had had at least one Senate hearing; in the first quarter of 1987, only 50 per cent of 24 pending nominees had had a hearing—and the Democrats have begun to schedule second hearings far more frequently. As a point of comparison, at the end of 1987, with only a year to go in the Reagan Administration, an unprecedented 27 nominees were still pending. (Since 1960, as Tom Bethell has noted, there have never been more than four judicial nominees pending one year before a presidential election.)

Mr. Cunningham is NR*'s assistant article editor.*

On March 24, 1988, Strom Thurmond told the committee's Democrats, "I would again like to express my deep concern over the extremely slow pace [at which] the committee is processing nominations this year." One Republican aide I spoke with, not bound by senatorial courtesy, was more direct: "Some Democratic senators would like to see the process completely stopped." Steve Metalitz, special counsel to the Senate Judiciary Committee and chief of the Democrats' investigative unit, shrugs off charges of delay. "They have nothing legitimate to object to . . . We're conducting thorough investigations where necessary."

The Democrats' investigations have been thorough indeed. David Sentelle —already a federal district-court judge —waited almost a year to take his seat on the D.C. Circuit because Senator Leahy found out he was a Mason and decided that the Masonic order excluded blacks (it doesn't). Sentelle cleared the committee once Leahy had been browbeaten by some of the 75 or so Masons in Congress, but then Senator Paul Simon put a hold on the nomination until he could ask the ABA what *it* thought about Masonic judges. In his letter to the ABA, which Simon's staff took more than a month just to mail, Simon said, Yes, of course the Masons don't discriminate, but isn't it possible that individual lodges discriminate? Like, say (nudge, nudge), Sentelle's lodge? The ABA refused the bait, so Simon reluctantly withdrew his hold. But the Simon staffer I talked to remains convinced that the ABA dodged an important issue.

Bernard Siegan, head of the law-and-economic-studies program at the University of San Diego Law School, was rated qualified or well qualified by all members of the ABA's evaluation panel and has been endorsed by Alan Dershowitz. Siegan waited nine months for his first hearing (only Senator DeConcini bothered to show up for it), and almost four more months for a second hearing. Dan Popeo, founder and chief counsel of the Washington Legal Foundation (a high-powered conservative alternative to the ACLU) is outraged: "The Siegan nomination is a travesty—it's a disgrace that a man of his ability is being held back by the intellectual pygmies that sit on the committee." Ricki Seidman, a spokesman for People for the American Way, explained that Siegan was "outside the mainstream" because of his concern for economic liberties and because, like Bork, he persists "in saying that the Constitution provides very little protection through the judiciary for basic civil rights and civil liberties." Siegan has just received another packet of questions to answer; after a full year, it seems the committee still doesn't understand his judicial philosophy. The current betting is that Siegan's name will never come to a vote.

Trial by Rumor

SUSAN LIEBELER, the sitting Chairman of the International Trade Commission, has been nominated to the federal circuit court of appeals. She was unanimously rated qualified by the ABA panel, but her nomination also seems to be on terminal hold. On February 23, after 11 months of wrangling, she was passed out of committee, but the Democratic staff can't seem to produce the report, normally *pro forma*, that must accompany her name to the floor. Among Mrs. Liebeler's crimes: she is a free-trader, nominated to a court that handles many cases involving trade law. The committee also investigated an allegation that once, after a long wait in line, she yelled at a bank clerk. This has led some Democrats to interrogate Mrs. Liebeler at length about her "lack of judicial temperament," painting her, according to one Republican

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staffer, as "abrupt, irrational—some sort of 'pushy bitch.' "

David Treen, a former governor of Louisiana, still couldn't get a hearing nine months after his nomination to the fifth circuit court; his membership in the States' Rights Party over a quarter-century ago upset the NAACP Legal Defense Fund—though the Louisiana NAACP chapter refuses to oppose him. The final straw was the committee's acquisition of an anonymous source whose unsubstantiated allegations of racism and corruption would have taken more months to clear up. Treen withdrew in late April, noting that he "could not afford to defer my professional and business activities" any longer, while "some persons on the Democrat-controlled committee would just as soon see the vacancy go unfilled until after the election . . . in the hope that a Democrat will succeed to the White House." Representative Robert Livingstone (R., La.) told me, "David Treen ran the most color-blind administration in the history of Louisiana. The Judiciary Committee has reached a new low."

District court nominees face equally rough times. No hearings have even been scheduled for Paul Gadola, 11 months after his nomination to the Eastern Michigan District Court; Gadola has thirty years' experience as a trial lawyer in the region. Five other nominees have waited for three to eight months for hearings to be scheduled. Vaughn Walker, nominated to the Northern District Court, is clearly doomed—groups opposing his nomination include: the San Francisco Coalition for Civil Rights, the Harvey Milk Lesbian and Gay Democratic Club, Stonewall Gay Democratic Club, Gay Rights Advocates, Feminist Men's Alliance, Alice B. Toklas Lesbian and Gay Democratic Club, and Legal Advocates for Women. Walker's mistake? He represented the United States Olympic Committee in its trademark case against the Gay Olympics.

When the Democrats play the scrutiny game, the Justice Department and the Republican members of the Judiciary Committee have no choice but to play along. As Assistant Attorney General Stephen Markman says, "We don't begrudge the committee its opportunity to look closely at our nominees and scrutinize with great intensity—indeed, I wish that the Congress had taken its role in the advise-and-consent process over the courts as seriously over the past generation—but I do think these individuals are ultimately entitled to their day before the Judiciary Committee. Many of them, for example, have seen their practices suffer considerably as their names have lingered before the Judiciary Committee without action." In January, Robert N. Miller asked President Reagan to withdraw his nomination after an 11-month ordeal, noting that "this protracted process has been an agonizing and distracting odyssey for me, my family, friends, and office."

Then there are those nominees that sweep through. Senator Arlen Specter (R., Pa.) made quite a show of his opposition to Bork, and now, one staffer told me, "It seems we have a Pennsylvania nominee sailing through every week." "It doesn't take a great leap to see what's going on. He's being rewarded for his sterling efforts in the Bork fight."

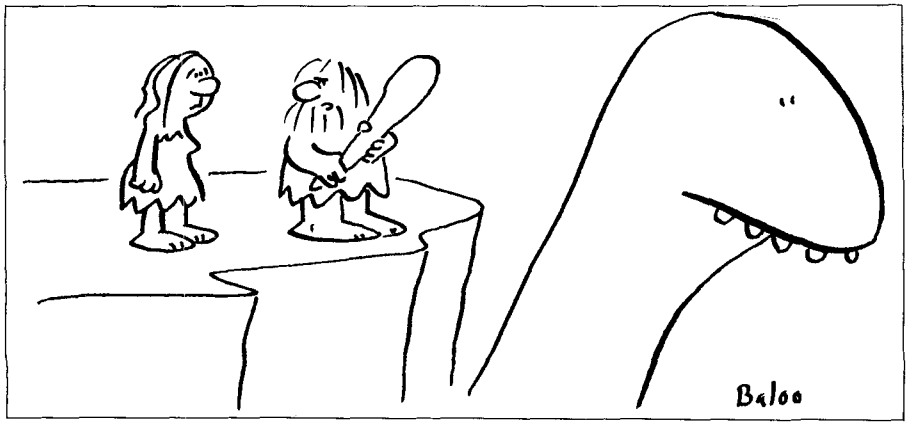
Aside from a lack of insider sponsorship, what makes a nominee controversial? Principally, being "outside the mainstream." As George Smith, Senator Gordon Humphrey's chief aide on the committee, noted, "anyone who appears to have Ronald Reagan's judicial philosophy—or meets protests from liberal constituencies—always seems to encounter difficulties."

Pat McGuigan, Legal Affairs Analyst for Coalitions for America and editor and co-author of *The Judges War*, faults the Administration: "White House legislative operations is a joke. It's been increasingly ineffective under the leadership of [Navy Secretary-Designate] Will Ball." McGuigan also faults Ed Meese for keeping the ABA in the process—which allows some of the leftists on the ABA evaluating committee to start the "controversy" that is so useful in "forcing" the Judiciary Committee to "scrutinize." Judge Harold Tyler, chairman of the ABA committee, denies the charge, but does note that often "the very issues that troubled us in our considerations, trouble the committee. That's happened over the whole forty-year history" of the ABA's role in the process.

Full Stop

WHAT'S NEXT? Pat McGuigan makes a basketball analogy: "They're running a four-corner offense—passing the ball around because they've got the lead, running out the clock." And time is running out for the Reagan Administration. Expect the Democrats to claim that it's really not necessary to process nominees at the end of Reagan's term—that it's better to wait for the next Congress. "In a month or so, I expect the current trickle to just stop," says Paul Giordano, an assistant to Senator Charles Grassley (R., Iowa). Of course, the Republicans point out that thirty of Jimmy Carter's judicial nominees were confirmed in the second half of 1980, including one who was confirmed after Reagan's election and one who was confirmed in spite of being rated unqualified by the ABA.

While the Senate plays politics, the federal judiciary remains understaffed. As Don Baldwin, Executive Director of the National Law Enforcement Council, points out: "While the president of the Bar Association and other prominent leaders in criminal justice have pointed out the dire need for judges, the Senate Judiciary Committee is sitting on qualified nominees for political terms. Politics is playing a heavier hand than those people waiting for justice." □



"Are you sure you absolutely have *to have a cup of bouillon?"*

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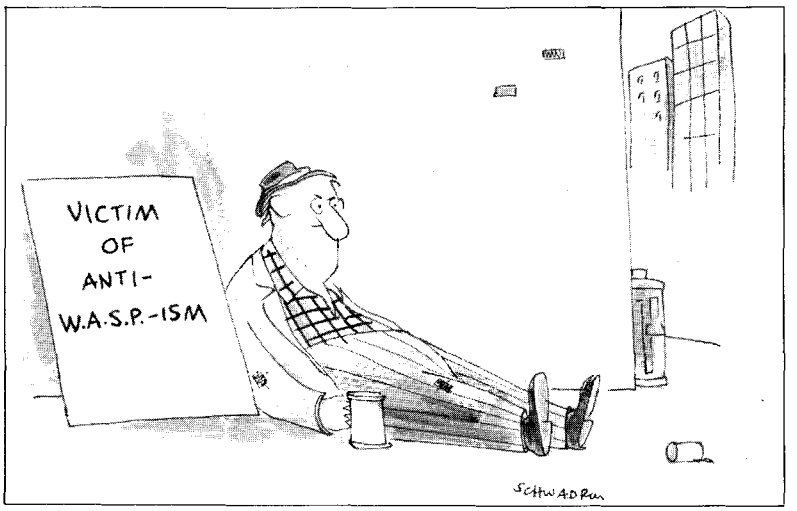
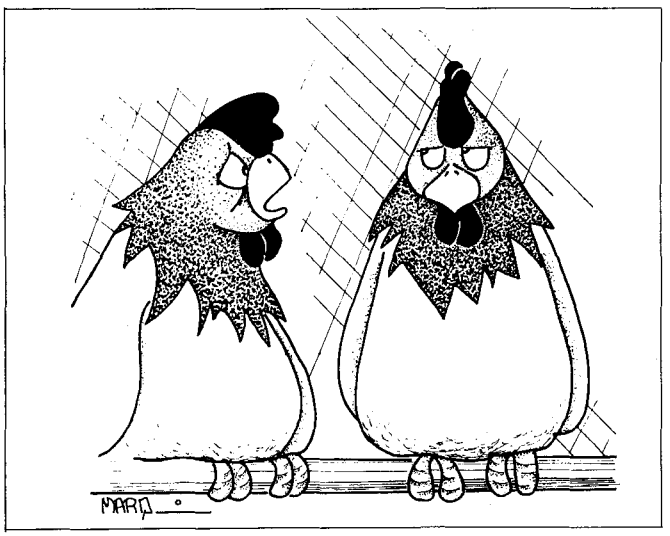
help!!!!



Salmonella, Anyone?

Despite cholesterol, I've liked
The egg in many ways:
In peaks above a lemon pie
Or in a hollandaise,
But just as I have bid adieu
To oysters and the clam,
I've jettisoned the Grade A egg,
Which doesn't help the ham.

W. H. VON DREELE



"Well, I suppose we all have our phobias. Mine's fear of frying."

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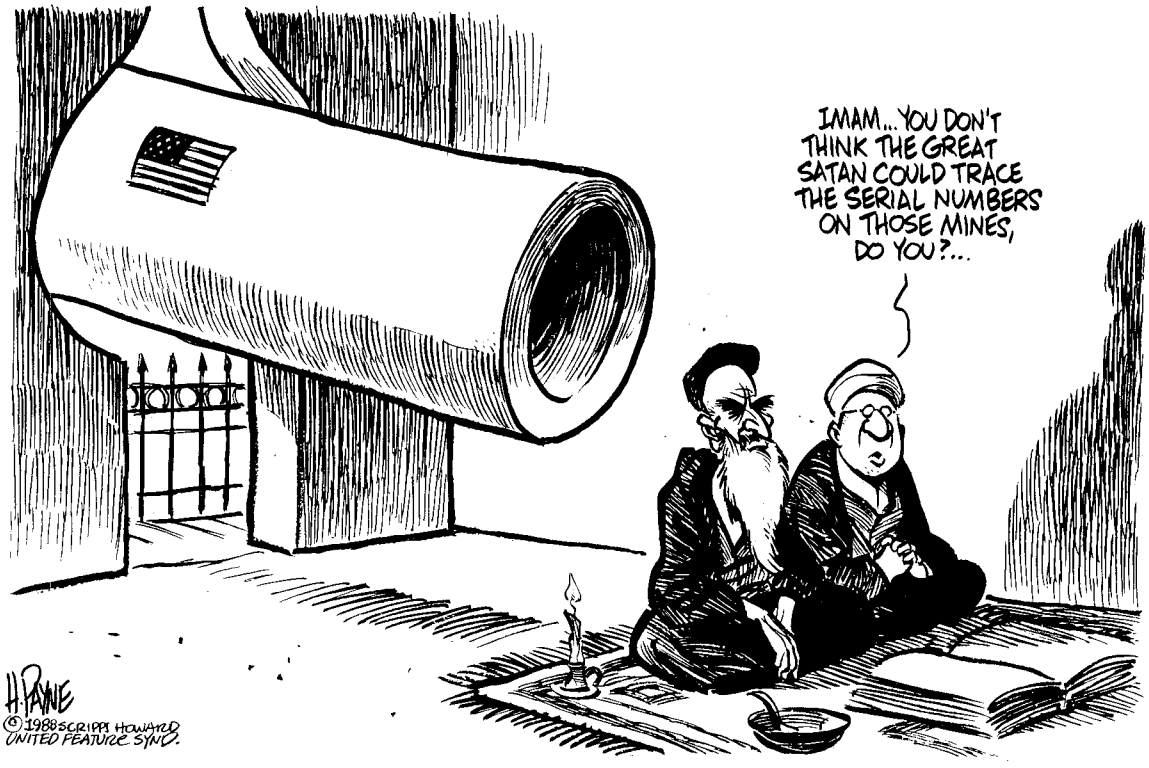
Trapper Sam


IMAM.. YOU DON'T THINK THE GREAT SATAN COULD TRACE THE SERIAL NUMBERS ON THOSE MINES, DO YOU?...
H. PAYNE
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A WONDERFUL TOWN

In retrospect, the New York primary was decided in Wisconsin, where Jesse Jackson's second-place finish meant that he would not come roaring into town with the Big Mau Mau. But it didn't necessarily look that way at the time. Michael Dukakis had dropped two big ones the month before (Illinois and Michigan); if he dropped New York, Mario Cuomo, the exotic dancer of Albany, might drop another veil. Accordingly Dukakis was calling on every resource.

One of his biggest resources throughout the campaign has been money. I attended a powwow of Dukakis money-raisers in the board room of the Equitable Building on April 6, the day after the Wisconsin primary. You could plunk the Oval Office into the Equitable Board Room and never notice it. A post-modern proscenium window gave a Valhalla view of the West Side. Several of the Dukakis people noted the resemblance of the circular board table to the one in *Trading Places*.

Since the election-law changes of the Seventies, the goal of successful fundraising has become to find, not the biggest givers, but the biggest number of those who can give the thousand-dollar limit—what Brian Sullam in *The New Republic* called "plump cats." The way to do that is to establish a network of friends of feline friends. Most campaigns do this; Dukakis just did it better.

Part of the reason is that he is a governor. More business gets done with governors than senators or congressmen, and governors must come to Wall Street to float bonds. By the time New York rolled around, and despite his stumbles, Dukakis's people were also making use of the magic of inevitability. On the invitation to a Dukakis fundraiser I had attended the week before was a picture of a steaming train (the little engine that could?) with the message, "Get on Board."

And part of the reason for the Dukakis success at raking it in was plain hard work. Those assembled in the Equitable aerie belonged to the Finance Council, a group of over one hundred supporters who had pledged to bring in $10,000 or more; they met every three weeks to plan fundraising events. The members of the Finance Council's inner circle, the Executive Committee, a dozen strong, had each generated over $50,000; they met every week. There had been one big event—i.e., six figures—in New York every month since last summer. They were looking to raise half a million more before primary day. Multiply that by parallel organizations in other rich states, and you've got a lot of wherewithal.

The Dukakae dispersed with exhortations to get as many Democrats as possible to "max out" in the two weeks remaining.

Jesse Jackson's first full day in New York City after the Wisconsin primary was heavily scheduled. He was slated for lunch with the *New York Times*, meetings with the state Democratic committee and with a labor union, a candidate's forum at the Ethical Culture Society, and evening rallies at the Columbia Faculty House, a chi-chi downtown restaurant, and a Baptist church in deepest Brooklyn. Four years ago, Jackson's schedules were frankly fantastical. This time, they were—indicative. I came to the Ethical Culture Society when Jackson was scheduled to appear, first of three speakers, at 5:30, and saw him, last of three, two hours later.

Ethical Culture is a sect developed at the turn of the century by those who found Unitarianism and Reform Judaism excessively dogmatic and insufficiently serious. Perhaps for that reason, the pews at their building on Central Park West are the hardest in the universe.

Albert Gore and Michael Dukakis had been greeted with applause that was, respectively, polite and heavy. Jackson received a full-throated roar. Conservatives who mock his rhymes and jingles, or who think his speaking skills depend entirely on them, should hear him on a good day. I have been listening to presidential candidates now professionally for eight years and the only one who came close to Jackson as a speaker was John Connally. (Ronald Reagan is not a speaker at all, but a Friend.) Jackson is always at least spuriously moving, sometimes genuinely so. Most moving is his period devoted to the working poor—a catalogue of nurses, maids, janitors, together with their long hours and their responsibilities, bound together with the refrain, "They work," which he began developing and polishing as early as his last campaign.

His remedies for the working poor, or for anyone or anything else, are mostly nonsense, while his record, as an administrator and public figure, is often worse. After his surprise win in the Michigan caucuses, a number of mainstream reporters began laying out the malodorous record—Arafat, Castro, PUSH, the bloody shirt—in stories that were passed around like hermetic formulae. But all this too was mostly recycling of material from the last campaign. Michael Kramer, who did a tough wrap-up for *U.S. News & World Report*, had written it all for *New York* magazine the last time around. The tale of Jack O'Dell, the old Communist Jackson picked for a foreign-policy advisor, which surfaced in *Commentary* and *The New Republic*, had been broken by William Rusher in a column four years earlier—indeed, Rusher had been on to O'Dell since *Special Counsel* in 1968.

In answer to the question, What do you want? Jackson told the Ethical Culture Society that he wanted to win, and that having done so, he would

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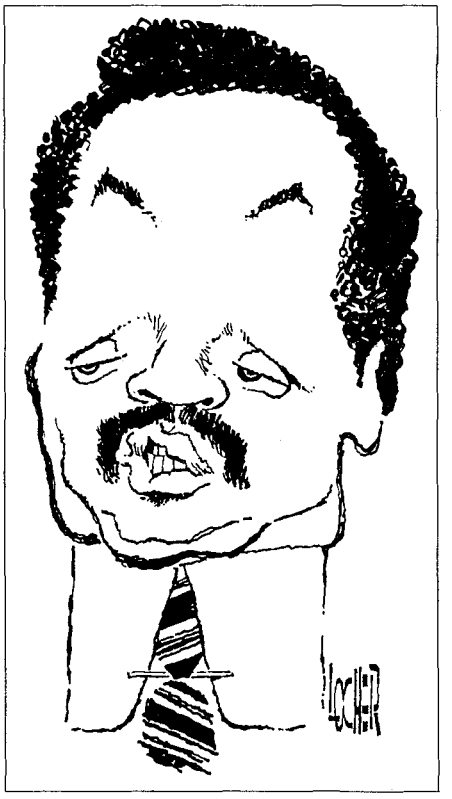
want to raise the minimum wage, to institute "comparable worth" (that is, higher pay for jobs in which feminists feel that women are shortchanged), and to make the National Labor Relations Board "a mediation and not a strike-breaking board." A question about drugs provoked a detailed answer, which Republicans had better get used to: the Democrats are following Jackson's lead on this issue, and George Bush, as head of the federal anti-drug effort in South Florida, makes a tempting target. The details boiled down to extensions of present programs—military aid to the governments of source countries, substitute crops for their peasants, education, rehabilitation, a beefed-up border patrol at home—generously larded with rhetoric: Drugs are "the number-one threat to our national security." (Cf. Michael Dukakis: the "most serious threat to our national security is not the Sandinistas, but the avalanche of drugs flowing into this country.") At the end, Jackson raised the most important question. "As President, I will cut the supply. But people must cut the demand."

By the time he finished, he was already ten minutes late for the appearance after his next scheduled appearance, so I left him to entirely sympathetic ears.



WHERE JACKSON was concerned, Dukakis's strategy was to see, hear, and speak no evil. These tasks were left to the other white guy, Albert Gore. Gore had looked to Super Tuesday to get his campaign rolling; he carried five outer Southern and Border states—big deal. In Wisconsin, he had bellowed for dairy price supports and finished a distant third. New York became make or break for him, and he took the war to Jackson with a stout heart.

He fired an opening shot on March 29 at a breakfast of the Association for a Better New York, a group of businessmen and boosters, when he said that the goal of Democrats should be to elect a President, not a preacher. That same day, at a Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, he found the range, blasting Jackson for suggesting moral equivalence between Israel and the PLO. Gore's criticisms, mild enough, paled and faded altogether when Mayor Koch, who later endorsed Gore, opined that any Jew who voted for Jackson would have to be "crazy."

And so the great hunt for Jewish votes began, with Gore and Koch acting as the beaters. Another phrase from four years ago, this one belonging to Murray Kempton—that Jackson may have called New York City Hymietown, but Mondale and Hart treated it as if it were—got a certain amount of replay. Kempton's *mot* was true then, and it remains true now, but half way through the ruckus I was seized with a sudden longing to let New York alone. Yes, the city is full of people and pols who behave as if they think that Ellis Island is somewhere up near Poughkeepsie, and they are still citizens of the Old—or New—Country. (It isn't just Jews. We will visit the Greeks presently, and the Irish still give a kick whenever some aged plastique merchant is elected marshal of the St. Patrick's Day parade.) But anyone who heard Dick Gephardt campaigning to farmers, or everyone but Pete du Pont campaigning to old folks, knows that New Yorkers do not exhaust the supply of people in the Republic who think there are more important things than the Republic.

If New York is not unique in its sins, it does express them with a special degree of infantilism. This came home to me at a debate sponsored by the *Daily News* at the Felt Forum, a week before the primary. The Forum, a barnacle on Madison Square Garden, was as full as it would be for a Fifties doo-wop concert, though, in fairness, the concerts sell beer and the candidates didn't. The first group of infants was the homosexuals. They had a black banner, SILENCE = DEATH, with a pink triangle on it, and they yelled "What about AIDS!" in every lull. I could see a radicalized homosexual heckling, say, Cardinal O'Connor or Jerry Falwell. But what is the point, other than getting on television, of heckling people who agree with you?

The second band of infants was the Jackson claque. I have heard right-to-lifers in full and bitter cry, and I have seen the dewy look in the eyes of the Robertsonites, but they are nothing to the Jacksonians. Some analyst of kitsch, maybe Clement Greenberg, gave as a sign of kitsch art that it contains its own reaction. A painting, for instance, will not simply be sad; it will say, See how sad this is. Jackson and his followers practice kitsch politics. It's not just that they cheer and whoop, it's the pleasure they take in hearing their own cheering and whooping. How wonderful it is, they seem to say, that this wonderful man makes such wonderful people feel so wonderful. When, kitsch on the attack, they boo, the wonderful man has a chance to admonish them, whereat they wonder anew at his sobriety.

By the time of the *Daily News* debate, the Gore strategy had produced no tangible results. Over the final weekend, tracking polls showed a modest Gore uptick—modest, and deceptive.

FIVE DAYS before the primary, like Antaeus touching ground, Michael Dukakis came to a fund-raiser in Astoria, in Queens. It was a long way from the Equitable Board Room. Across the street from the event was a stationery store advertising SCHOOL SUPPLIES AND CIGARS, a billiard parlor, and a bar named McLoughlin's; at the corner was an El stop.

The event itself was held on two floors of a banquet hall, teenagers disco-ing on the lower, their elders and Dukakis crowded into the upper. The crowd was, shall we say, Hellenic. You couldn't throw a plate without grazing a mustache. At 6'4", I

(Continues on page 60)

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EYES ON THE UKRAINE

IN ALL likelihood *glasnost* and *perestroika* will not change the fundamental structure and character of the Soviet Union; but together they have provided a certain opportunity for dissident voices to be heard. All sorts of groups and individuals have come forward with complaints and demands. Among the most impassioned of these voices have been those of the Soviet Union's non-Russian national minorities—Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Ukrainians, Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Tatars, Kazakhs. To cite just one example, Vyacheslav Chornovil, a Ukrainian writer back from exile in Siberia, wrote an "Open Letter" to Mikhail Gorbachev referring to him as an "inhibited dissident." Chornovil asks for truly radical reforms, not only in the area of economics but in cultural policy toward non-Russian nationalities within the USSR and toward the Christian churches.

Christian Armenians and Moslem Azerbaijanis struggling for control over an Armenian enclave in the heart of Azerbaijan have been much in the news lately. But little has been said about one of the most interesting Soviet "constituent republics"—Chornovil's nation, Ukraine.

It is now generally agreed that during the Thirties, as a result of Stalin's cultural policies, literally millions of Ukrainians lost their lives, most of them from enforced starvation. Yet Ukrainians, numbering more than 44 million, still make up by far the largest non-Russian nationality in the Soviet Union. The Russians contend that Ukraine is historically a part of Russia; the Ukrainians contend that it is the other way around. It was in Galicia's Polesy marshes, during the last centuries of the pre-Christian era, that the Slavs first emerged as a distinct ethnic and linguistic group; and it was there, on the banks of the Dnieper river, under the reign of Vladimir I, that Christianity made its official entrance into the Slavic world. (The millennium of that event is being commemorated this year.)

By the tenth century the Slavs had established a flourishing and powerful agricultural nation with its capital at Kiev. This first Slavic state, the Kievan Rus, is regarded as the cradle of Greater Russia. However, it fell to the Mongol Golden Horde in the thirteenth century, and when liberation came, it started in the north, from the principality of Moscow. Only then did Moscow become the capital of Russia.

Under the czars no less than under the Communists today, the existence of a distinct Ukrainian nationality was hotly denied. Moscow frequently prohibited the Ukrainian language, which it considered a mere dialect of Russian, from being used in Ukrainian schools or in print. The western half of the country, referred to in Russia as the "Southern Borderland," was later liberated by the Poles and was for a time part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Much of the region therefore has about it a distinctly Western character, emphasized by the presence there today of forty thousand resident Poles. One feels that character most strongly in Kiev, despite its ancient Russian monasteries.

The Ukrainian people first emerged as a body with a distinct national consciousness under the Austro-Hungarian empire. In 1918, with the aid of Austria, Poland, and Germany, an independent Ukrainian republic was established. But the new state was soon crushed by Communist Russia and absorbed into the Soviet Union.

Officially, the Russians recognized Ukraine as a nationally distinct, though constituent, republic. Even to this day, however, Moscow makes every effort to Russify the country, primarily with immigration (at least one-third of Kiev's population is now ethnically Russian), but also by making more prestigious and better-paying careers depend on a thorough command of Russian. As part of this campaign, the Soviets have also sought to suppress the Eastern Rite Catholic Church. Not only is the Church a symbol of Ukrainian culture as distinct from Russian culture but, unlike the Eastern Orthodox Church, it is controlled from abroad—from Rome—and as a result its hierarchy has proved considerably more difficult to penetrate and control.

DESPITE THE Russians' efforts, Ukrainian nationalism remains vital, surviving as a powerful national consciousness and characterized by a deep hostility toward the *Moskaly*, the "Muscovites," whom the Ukrainians consider brutal, primitive, aggressive, and humorless. I have not been in the Ukraine for a long time, but I have heard Ukrainian emigrants all over the world express these sentiments. Indeed, we should not forget that the guerrilla forces of the Ukrainian nationalist Stepan Bandera (murdered in exile by the KGB in 1959) were still in arms well into the Fifties, when they fought a ferocious battle with Soviet forces in the Krivoi Rog region.

Stepan Bandera is dead, but he is survived by a durable tradition of Ukrainian patriotism. The next crack in the edifice of imperial Communist Russia could well be opened by his spiritual heirs. □

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SICKNESS UNTO DEATH

Wayne Lutton

Crisis: Heterosexual Behavior in the Age of AIDS, by William H. Masters, MD, Virginia E. Johnson, and Robert C. Kolodny, MD (Grove, 243 pp., $15.95)

RARELY HAS a book on an important public-health issue, written by a team of qualified and responsible researchers, come under such swift attack from members of the medical establishment, both in and out of government. Although he was in London attending a conference when *Crisis* was released, U.S. Surgeon General Everett Koop immediately accused its authors of employing "scare tactics" and went on to call the book "irresponsible" and say it might cause "hysteria." Dr. Mathilde Krim, founding Chairwoman of the American Foundation for AIDS Research, called it "needlessly alarming."

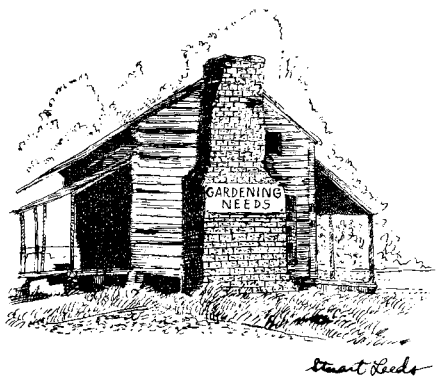
Contrary to the hasty judgments of Koop, Krim, and a host of others, *Crisis: Heterosexual Behavior in the Age of AIDS* is a carefully researched, well-written study, documenting how extensively AIDS infection has moved beyond the original "high risk" groups of homo- and bisexual males and intravenous drug users. The centerpiece of the book is a report on the results of a survey, the first conducted in this country with the objective of determining the relationship between various levels of promiscuity and the chance of AIDS infection among heterosexual men and women.

To assess the spread of the AIDS virus among heterosexuals, Masters, Johnson, and Kolodny compared two groups of sexually active heterosexual adults between the ages of 21 and 40, all of whom met three criteria: a) no blood transfusions since 1977, b) no homosexual or bisexual contact since 1977, and c) no use at all of IV drugs. Subjects in one group of four hundred (two hundred men and two hundred women) had had at least six different sexual partners each year over the last five years while those in the other group of four hundred had been in strictly monogamous relationships over the same period. The subjects, recruited in equal numbers from New York City, Los Angeles, Atlanta, and St. Louis, were for the most part "ordinary, generally unremarkable middle-class men and women in their twenties and thirties."

The survey found that within the monogamous control group only one person out of four hundred had been infected with the AIDS virus. Among those individuals reporting at least six sexual partners per year over the past five years, 5 per cent of the men and 7 per cent of the women had been infected. And in a subgroup of promiscuous heterosexuals who averaged more than 12 sexual partners annually, the rate of infection was even higher: 12 per cent of the men and 14 per cent of the women were seropositive.

Despite all the attention that AIDS has received over the past three years, the researchers discovered that "less than 10 per cent of the men and women who had numerous sex partners thought they might be exposing themselves to infection with the AIDS virus. Most were convinced that AIDS was not a problem among heterosexuals." Few of these promiscuous heterosexuals had reduced their annual number of partners between 1982 and 1986; none of the males used condoms regularly, and only 3 per cent of the women routinely asked their partners to use condoms during intercourse. In addition, only about half of those who participated in the study even called back to get the results of their blood tests.

Based on their study, the authors feel justified in concluding that there is a significant rate of AIDS infection among sexually promiscuous heterosexuals. Given the lag time between infection and the clinical manifestation of the disease, which can be anywhere from five to 14 years, there are many carriers who feel healthy and so risk exposing many more people to the virus. "With time—perhaps just a few years—there will be a 'trickle-down effect,'" the authors warn. (Because of



Wayne Lutton, research director at The Summit, in Manitou Springs, Colorado, has co-authored a book on AIDS and testified before Congress on AIDS education and public policy.

Jeffrey Meyers is the author of D. H. Lawrence and the Experience of Italy, D. H. Lawrence and Tradition, *and* The Legacy of D. H. Lawrence.

William Murchison is an editorial-page writer for the Dallas Morning News.

Stephen J. Tonsor is a professor of history at the University of Michigan.

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the virus's long latency period, the 59,287 official cases of AIDS reported on April 11, 1988, in the *AIDS Weekly Surveillance Report* of the federal Centers for Disease Control largely represent people infected some time between the late 1970s and 1983. Only time will tell how many more have been infected in more recent years.)

The contention that promiscuous people run a much higher risk of getting AIDS, or any other sexually transmitted disease, is not startling. What has upset some members of the AIDS industry is that the authors take strong issue with a number of other widely publicized assumptions about the nature and magnitude of the epidemic.

For example, the authors believe the U.S. Public Health Service has underestimated the number of cases of AIDS-virus infection by at least 50 per cent, and they conclude that there are likely to be three million or more carriers currently at large in our country. The number of carriers is a matter of scientific guesswork. The oft-repeated CDC figure of one to 1.5 million carriers dates from 1986. In 1984, a British analyst estimated the number of those infected in the U.S. at 2.5 million. And a 1985 report, published in *The New England Journal of Medicine*, gave an estimate of 1,765,000. More recently, the CDC suggested that for every case of AIDS there are ten cases of ARC (AIDS Related Complex, symptoms of which include weight loss, fever, night sweats, fatigue, and persistent diarrhea), and for every case of ARC there are ten asymptomatic carriers. With 59,287 reported cases of AIDS, the arithmetic speaks for itself.

The authors also cite data indicating that the nation's blood supply is less safe than the public has been led to believe. They urge that patients predonate their own blood before elective surgery and have their own blood retransfused during emergencies.

Claims that homosexuals have dramatically changed their behavior are likewise viewed with considerable skepticism. A 1987 study of homosexual males revealed that over 20 per cent had actually increased their annual number of sexual partners. Those who cut back still averaged 26.9 partners every year. Few managed to abstain from anal intercourse. As the authors remark, "It is difficult to call this evidence of considerable sexual restraint."

The team makes a series of sensible recommendations for slowing the spread of the disease, which underline the primacy of protecting the as-yet uninfected, rather than granting special rights to AIDS carriers. They call for required testing of pregnant women, anyone between the ages of 15 and sixty admitted to a hospital, convicted prostitutes, and applicants for marriage licenses. Mandatory premarital testing might detect approximately 12,000 infected individuals and could be expected to prevent the birth of six thousand infected babies. They also urge that AIDS be made a reportable disease, and that those in intimate contact with carriers be notified for testing and counseling. As for those who know they are infected and yet persist in endangering the safety of others, "it seems appropriate to deal with such cases as matters of criminal law."

Crisis makes a valuable contribution to our knowledge about AIDS and deserves a careful reading. Its authors are trying to encourage sound public-health policy when they warn that, "if effective prevention strategies are delayed by a mistaken belief that this epidemic is now under control or by a single-minded preoccupation with individual autonomy, many millions of lives will be needlessly lost. There is precious little personal freedom in death." □

FEELING BULLET-PROOF

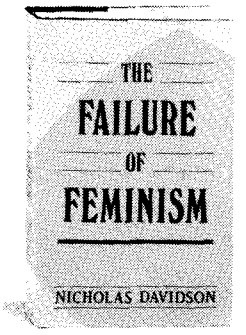
William Murchison

The Coming Battle for the Media: Curbing the Power of the Media Elite, by William A. Rusher (Morrow, 228 pp., $18.95)

HEY, YOU with the lapel microphone and the $600 suit. You at the editing terminal. Listen up. Bill Rusher has urgent things to say.

What's this about a "coming battle"? Well you should ask. Rusher isn't here to cudgel the media because he relishes the hollow sound produced when Sam Donaldson's pate is struck. He is issuing a solemn and serious warning, which is that the media are dispensing a distorted, monochromatic world view, and that dissatisfied cus-

The Failure of Feminism
by Nicholas Davidson



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RANDOM NOTES

☐ LEFT OVER FROM APRIL: In *1999: Victory without War* (Simon & Schuster, $19.95), Richard M. Nixon argues for SDI and against "first-strike vulnerability," for continued U.S. support for the Contras, for covert CIA activities abroad, for nuclear power, for the basing of more U.S. cruise missiles in Europe, and for putting American Air Force bases in Saudi Arabia.

☐ MORE MAY TITLES: *Right from the Beginning* (Little, Brown, $18.95), by Patrick J. Buchanan, is the syndicated columnist's memoir of a life that began in Washington, D.C., and Chevy Chase and has included, to date, a stint at Columbia Journalism School (that "citadel of liberalism"), eight years working for Richard Nixon, and service in the Reagan White House. In addition to the autobiographical material, there are arguments on behalf of laser-based nuclear weapons, Oliver North, school prayer, and the death penalty, and against AIDS patients and the progressive Catholic Church in America. . . . In *Speaking Out: The Reagan Presidency from inside the White House* (Scribner's, $19.95), Larry Speakes (with Robert Pack) describes his six-year tenure as President Reagan's press secretary, from the time when he succeeded the wounded Jim Brady in 1981 up to his resignation in the wake of the Iran-Contra scandal. While staunchly loyal to the President, he is scathingly critical of Meese, Haig, Weinberger, and others.

William Casey's posthumously published *The Secret War against Hitler* (Regnery Gateway, $19.95) grew out of the author's experience during World War II, when, as a staff officer in the Office of Strategic Services in London, he was responsible for dispatching agents behind enemy lines. Casey regrets that the OSS was unable to take advantage of the putsch of July 1944, and that the organization's penetration of Germany should have been in general so tardy.

Political Passages: Journeys of Change through Two Decades, 1968-1988 (Free Press, $21.95), edited by John H. Bunzel, is an anthology of 12 essays by former American radicals and left-liberals describing the reasons for their disillusionment with their former politics, and their subsequent rightward drift. Among the contributors are Julius Lester, Peter Collier, Michael Novak, Ronald Radosh, David Horowitz, and Joseph Epstein. —CW

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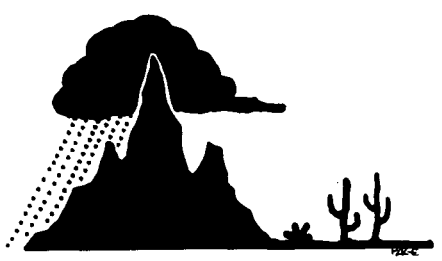
tomers sometimes take matters in their own hands, and have a right to. The question isn't whether there ought to be a battle for the media; the question is how soon it will start, and how it will come out.

"It is important," writes Rusher, "to stress that there is nothing sacrosanct about the present state of our constitutional or statutory law on the subject of the media's rights, privileges, and immunities. The media exist in the same polity as the rest of us, and they are, at least potentially, just as subject to restraint when their power becomes overweening or is grossly abused. Today, in the opinion of many serious observers, it is both." And again: "In one way or another, the media are going to be called to account for grave abuses of power, and on the outcome of the controversy may well depend the future direction, and future leadership, of American society."

Those whom the gods would destroy they first make—well, I don't know about "mad," necessarily. What about just deaf, heedless, pigheaded. The media today feel and act bullet-proof. So did the Bourbons, once. Rusher has not picked up scythe and flambeau, urging his comrades to the barricades. He does not even endorse particular techniques for bringing the media to heel. But such techniques exist—that's what he thinks the media should know.

As do I. This I say not in spite of my lifelong passion for journalism but, rather, on account of it. The media need all the Dutch-uncle talk they can get right now—particularly from within—and this is what Rusher offers. His book is wise, sensible, judicious—and biting.

My brothers and sisters in the media, many of them, will airily dismiss the book's early chapters. In these Rusher demonstrates—to my satisfaction, if perhaps not to Sam Donaldson's—the prevalence of liberal bias in the major media. (He does not, I should add, propose that this liberal slant be replaced with a conservative one: that would just leave us with the obverse of today's problem.) The bias argument is not new. Rusher, nonetheless, brings us deftly up to date, citing, among other recent studies, one by the Media Research Center strongly suggesting an incestuous relationship between the major media and the Democratic Party.



The media, I have noticed again and again, are unimpressed by evidence purporting to show a leftward tilt in news coverage and presentation. As Rusher notes, media folk will sometimes admit to personal liberalism but not to the slanting of news coverage to gratify that liberalism. Statistics suggesting bias against conservative policies or personalities are seen as suggestive of the statistician's own biases. In other words, the only problem with the media is that people think there's a problem with the media.

Press critics often labor inside a theoretical constraint: Yes, they say, the press is biased, but isn't the First Amendment a wonderful thing? That's what you say because it's expected. Rusher breaks joyously free of the constraint. Yes, the First Amendment is wonderful; it just doesn't mean—and never could mean—what modern media barons and their apologists make of it.

Rusher puts us a case: a hypothetical American invasion of Nicaragua in 1989. When the body count starts rising, the media seek to turn the country against the operation. The President, appealing to historical precedent, responds by invoking military censorship. *Salus populi suprema lex*; the people's safety is the supreme law.

The Founders, Rusher argues, intended to protect the "relatively weak journalistic megaphones possessed by every significant political party or tendency." Things are different today. The media "are simply the product of a series of historical accidents—individual initiatives, economic successes and failures, private political schemes, dynastic ambitions, and pure luck." What makes the beneficiaries think they merit "special authority to participate magisterially in the government of the United States"?

Indeed, some future Supreme Court could limit the reach of media freedoms; the Fairness Doctrine, which once required of radio and television stations balanced treatment of opposing viewpoints, could be "revived, taken seriously, and rigorously enforced": media personnel could be prosecuted

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for publishing damaging news leaks; the right of reply could be conferred by statute on people unfairly criticized in the press or on television. Some of which—such as the statutory right of reply—chills the blood. Even if Rusher is predicting, not prescribing, one hopes such predictions never come true. Reform is badly needed; but if it is to leave a valuable institution able to resume doing its job, it must come from within, rather than be imposed from without.

First, however, must come the desire for reform. The media—which are supposed to be the eyes and ears of a democratic citizenry—have decided they want to be our brains and hearts as well. They don't look exceptionally ready for change—which could some day prove to their misfortune and, may I add, the Republic's. □

THE FIFTY-YEAR TRADITION

Joseph Sobran

Spiritual Politics, by Mark Silk (Simon & Schuster, 206 pp., $19.95)

IN *Spiritual Politics: Religion and America Since World War II*, Mark Silk has written a two-hundred-page history of a single word: "Judaeo-Christian."

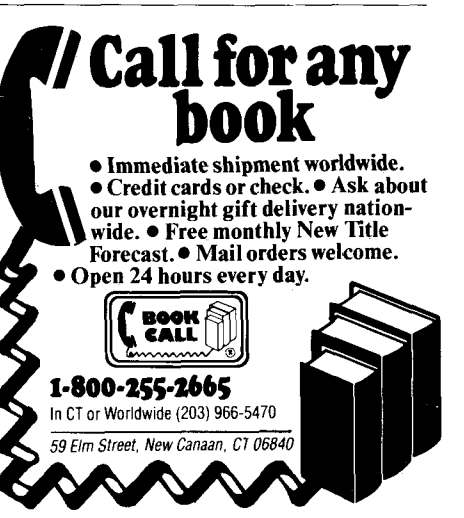
To hear him tell it, the Judaeo-Christian tradition is nearly fifty years old now. He seems to agree with my friend the sociologist John Murray Cuddihy, whom he quotes, that the term is a sentimental piece of "ecumenist public relations" expressing "the cultural and theological illiteracy of our times."

The term gained currency among liberal Protestants and Jews during the pre-war struggle against Nazism, serving to help forge a sort of theological popular front, then gained even wider currency for similar reasons during the Cold War. Silk follows the term's winding career with a sharp and witty narrative. He explains the motives, mostly benign, that inspired its coinage and use, but he is unmistakably skeptical of the supposed tradition it represents.

Of course he is not the first to find the whole idea problematic. Many have. At a time when most Christian and Jewish leaders were becoming preoccupied with interfaith good will and with endowing America with an "adhesional" (as opposed to exclusivist) civil religion, the Boston Jesuit Leonard Feeney insisted literally that outside the Church there is no salvation —an ancient formula everyone else was bent on softening. One of Feeney's followers even saw impending damnation in the fact that Notre Dame's football team included Protestants. Feeney was finally excommunicated.

Dozens of familiar and once-familiar characters parade briskly through Silk's pages: Reinhold Niebuhr, Fulton Sheen, Henry Luce, Paul Blanshard, the young Billy Graham, Adlai Stevenson, Cardinals Spellman and Cushing, Martin Luther King, John Kennedy, Harvey Cox, Bishop Pike, the Berrigans, Jerry Falwell. Silk ably sketches the controversies that engaged them, spicing the story with pungent quotations. Here's Feeney's tart description of an interfaith meeting: "a place where a Jewish rabbi, who does not believe in the divinity of Christ, and a Protestant minister, who doubts it, get together with a Catholic priest, who agrees to forget it for the evening."

Silk knows the words well, but he misses some of the music. At times he uses labels—"right-wingers," "cold-war rhetoric"—to dispose of large realities he'd rather not deal with or extend empathy to. It would have been a better story if he'd given all his characters equal weight. That "cold-war rhetoric" is only fully intelligible if you're aware of what American Christians were aware of at the time: the ferocious Communist persecution of Christians. Silk hardly mentions it. But liberal anti-Nazi rhetoric would sound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just as overheated to someone who didn't know what Hitler was *doing* over there.

Even more seriously, Silk seems to miss the central evasion of Judaeo-Christianity: its buried tenet that Jesus Christ is unnecessary. He had become a scandal to the Christians, so some of them tried to rebuild religion around social action and political activism—more or less worthy things, but always secondary, in Christian tradition, to the business of salvation. The ecumenists tended to talk as if Jesus had come for the purpose of improving Judaeo-Christian relations.

Feeney, Silk notes darkly, "had a particular thing about Jews." He was recently reincarnated in the person of Bailey Smith, the president of the Southern Baptist Convention, who is renowned for having said that "God Almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew." Silk, to his credit, gives the whole passage, in which Smith actually said (apropos of interfaith religious political rallies), "With all due respect to those dear people, my friend, God Almighty does not hear the prayer of a Jew. For how in the world can God hear the prayer of a man who says that Jesus Christ is not the true Messiah?"

Which shows that Smith was sensitive to the shock he was giving to ecumenist manners. But, like Feeney, he would rather be accused of talking bigotry than make nonsense of his own faith. He later described himself as "pro-Jew" (I think he meant to say "philo-Semitic"), but insisted, "Jews have an argument with me because they have an argument with the New Testament." Time and again he tried to soften the offense without compromising the essential point.

It's a touching episode, illustrating as it does that while Christianity is a religion, Judaeo-Christianity is nothing more than a code of etiquette. Not that that makes it utterly despicable. Even Dr. Johnson acknowledged that polite cant has its place: "My dear friend, clear your *mind* of cant. . . . You may *talk* in this manner; it is a mode of talking in Society: but don't *think* foolishly."

Silk, as I say, seems to agree with Cuddihy that Jews shouldn't be taken in by "the Judaeo-Christian tradition." He's right. And neither should Christians. There are ways to find common ground without the tyrannizing sentimentalism that demands that other people reach our conclusions from their premises. □

HORIZONS OF FREEDOM

Stephen J. Tonsor

The New History and the Old, by Gertrude Himmelfarb (Belknap/Harvard, 209 pp., $20)

SOME OF us over fifty can recall those elegant Central European ladies of a certain age. Their manner was urbane and in keeping with their beautiful clothes. They spoke three or four languages flawlessly, but alas! they were unable to do anything more than pass the time of day or engage in the most inconsequential gossip in any of them. Gertrude Himmelfarb tells us in *The New History and the Old* that Clio, the muse of history, is on the point of becoming one of these Central European ladies of a certain age: urbane and elegant, but wholly devoid of meaningful conversation. History's conversation has been trivialized with ideological and sociological clichés.

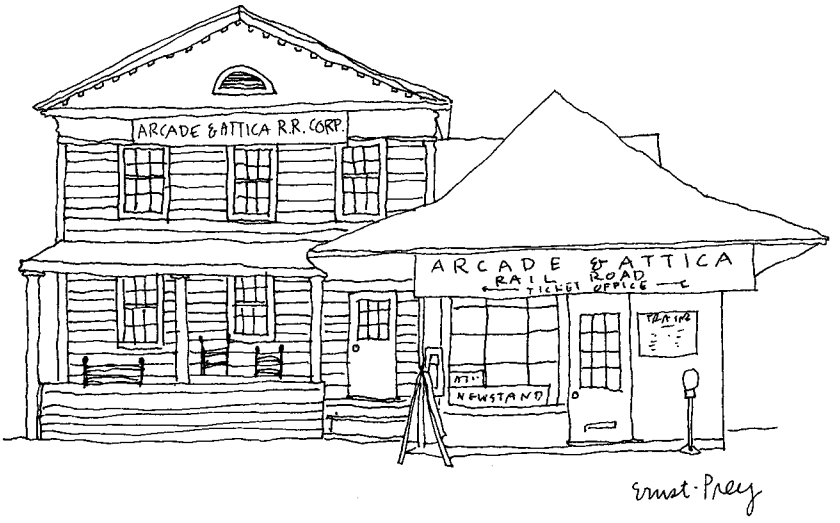
These essays, written and published over the last dozen years, address in one way or another the current state of historical study. They represent the "old history" at its best: morally committed, politically interested, empirically grounded, and beautifully crafted.

Professor Himmelfarb's first charge is that the new quanto-, psycho-, and social histories tend to draw our attention away from the questions that have traditionally preoccupied historical study, paricularly the problem of the state and the attempt by society to create a rational political order. The preoccupation with submerged groups and non-participating social sects obscures these more fundamental concerns. Political history, as Professor Himmelfarb not unsuccessfully argues, remains, and will always remain, the motor of historical study. It is more important to study the politics of the progressives than the life histories of lesbian women at the University of Nebraska. In the study of the history of ideas it is safe to say that we can determine the power of any idea by the length of time it takes to reach and influence the centers of power.

In creating a political order, Professor Himmelfarb argues, men seek to instantiate reason and value, seek to act freely and break the determinate mold of cause and effect in order to bring some new thing to pass. History is the realm of freedom and the science of choice. It is for this reason that these essays are so intransigently opposed to sociological determinism and the causal iron cage of ideology.

In a determined world human actions must always be without value and be directed to objects that possess no intrinsic value. Ideological determinism necessarily presupposes an amoral world. Professor's Himmelfarb's chapter on British Marxist historians establishes this link between ideological determinism and personal amorality most clearly. What a calm, deft, and telling portrait of these Stalinist moral defectives!

And yet history done in the Marxist style is increasingly a power in the American university. Several years ago a visiting professor from France asked



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me how I accounted for the increasing number of Marxist appointments in our history departments. "In Paris," he added archly, "it has been dead for 15 years." To which I replied, "It is because, François, we are so provincial in America."

So-called psycho-history offers historical explanations for individual behavior and social action that if offered by a priest would be dismissed as superstition. The explanations offered have recourse to no empirically verifiable body of evidence. Now, conjecture is not a new element in historical study, but conjecture in the absence of verifiable evidence is not only new, it is totally unhistorical.

One can only suppose that much of what currently passes for historical study is a mask for ideology, an effort to depose, de-authorize, dethrone one's ideological enemy through the repetition of psychoanalytic clichés, an effort to create a history for classes and people who are, as Marx said, "historyless."

One of the most interesting and important essays in this volume is the analysis and criticism of Robert Nisbet's *History of the Idea of Progress.* It is a discerning tribute to a great and influential scholar. When the final assessment of Nisbet's work is made, this essay will provide the basis for a larger and wider-ranging analysis.

Despite their erudition and analytical prowess, however, these essays leave some important questions unanswered and lead me to some opposing positions.

In a certain sense Professor Himmelfarb's historical theory is naïve. There is, in the first place, no effort to separate history as a social science from history as a science of value and choice, a "human science." There is no recognition that the epistemic theory or the methodology of these two sciences are radically different. The determinants of social science provide only the limits of causality within which free choice and value create the essentially historical moment. Also, I find the final essay, in which the historical views of Michael Oakeshott and Friedrich Nietzsche are contrasted, strained and a trifle offensive. Professor Himmelfarb is obviously a much better student of Oakeshott than she is of Nietzsche. One ought to read all of Nietzsche, and not just *The Use and Abuse of History*, before one comes to

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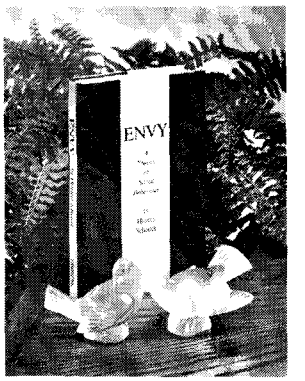
ENVY

By Helmut Schoeck



"Envy is a drive which lies at the core of man's life as a social being . . ." So writes Helmut Schoeck in *Envy*, first published in German in 1966 and in an English translation in 1970. One of the few books to extensively explore such an important topic, this classic study is now available again.

Ranging widely over literature, philosophy, psychology and the social sciences, Professor Schoeck elucidates the very destructive aspects of envy as well as the positive role it can play. He shows that the concept of envy is necessary to fully understand both the totalitarian state and the utter futility of egalitarianism.

"A magnificent achievement. It is not only a basic contribution to social psychology, but also a wise defense of individual excellence and a compassionate but firm refutation of the naive, but all too common, propensity to placate envy. A most timely and necessary book, with the unmistakable stamp of the classic upon it." *Thomas S. Szasz.*

Since 1965, Dr. Helmut Schoeck has been professor and the director of the Institute of Sociology at the University of Mainz.

464 pages. Bibliography, index to names and subjects.

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any conclusions about Nietzsche's view of history.

It would be wrong, though, to conclude this review on a negative note. This is an important and beautifully argued book. It not only explores the contemporary state of historical studies but provides an oblique insight into and résumé of the work of one of our generation's most important historians of Victorian England. □

SAVAGE PILGRIMAGE

Jeffrey Meyers

The Letters of D. H. Lawrence: Volume IV, June 1921-March 1924, edited by Warren Roberts, James Boulton, and Elizabeth Mansfield (Cambridge, 672 pp., $59.50)

Women in Love, by D. H. Lawrence, edited by David Farmer, Lindeth Vasey, and John Worthen (Cambridge, 700 pp., $79.50)

THE 848 letters in this volume, one-third of them previously unpublished, were written when Lawrence was in his late thirties. During this period he traveled from Sicily to Ceylon, on to Australia and the South Pacific, to California, New Mexico, old Mexico, and New York, back to California and Mexico, then across the Atlantic to England, Germany, and France, and back again to New York.

The publication of his complete correspondence of this period, down to the last postcard and telegram, inevitably results in a great deal of repetition. Lawrence's two main topics are business and travel: his complicated literary affairs with agents and publishers and his vivid and changing response to the landscape and culture—the quest for an ideal that can never be realized. Driven by demons and disease, Lawrence feels he is "on thorns, can't settle," that he is destined to wander for the rest of his days, and recognizes that he is running away from himself. He constantly changes his plans and—sometimes frozen by his freedom—does not know which way to go: "Whether to go east, and via Greenland to Russia—or else south, and perhaps via Palm Springs to Old Mexico, and so to Europe." But he accepts the bitter realization that "travel seems to me a splendid lesson in disillusion—chiefly that."

The recurrent pattern of his savage pilgrimage is great hope, confrontation with reality, and bitter disappointment. He experiences a few epiphanies: "very pleasant to see the snow looking fierce, and to hear the water roaring once more savage and unquenched" in the Tyrol; to see "the sun sink behind the Carrara Mountains, the hills grow dark," and the windows of the Ponte Vecchio shine yellow above the glistening Arno. But he feels his heart and soul are broken in Europe, wants "something more velvety" in Asia, and believes he will find the future in aboriginal America.

Summoned to Taos, New Mexico, by Mabel Luhan—who "likes to play the 'patroness' . . . wants to be very 'good,' and is very wicked, has a terrible will to power"—Lawrence cautiously approaches America from the west. He eagerly anticipates the "naked people and the big elephant coming round the corner" in Ceylon, where he visits American Buddhist friends, but is soon repelled by "something smooth and boneless" and cannot bear the nauseous smell of coconut oil and sickly fruits. There is a great fascination in Australia, "a sort of lure in the bush . . . over the edge of the beyond," but he quickly feels hopelessly miserable in that weird and "humanly non-existent place."

Tahiti is "disappointing—dead, dull," with soft brown people. The black, glossy, cable-car streets of San Francisco are lined with "steel rails in ribbons like the path of death." New Orleans is sticky, steamy, and decayed. At first he likes the yellow aspens, the sage-brush desert, the hot days and freezing nights of the Rockies, but he is soon driven out by the negative will (embodied in Miss Luhan) that seems turned against spontaneous life. Mexico, at first, "is quite peaceful and a nice, human folk." But it almost immediately changes to a queer, savage place of "devastating brutality." Lawrence "longs for Europe, and especially for Sicily," which he had previously called "humanly degraded." But when he returns to the Old World, he finds England hateful, dark, and stifling, and feels "like a wild animal in a trap."

This frenetic movement, which would have exhausted and paralyzed most other writers, clearly stimulated and inspired Lawrence. In these transient and immensely productive years he wrote and published translations of Giovanni Verga, and books on travel, psychology, and literature, as well as poetry, stories, and novels about three continents: *Aaron's Rod*, *Kangaroo*, and *The Plumed Serpent*.

THE SUPERB edition of Lawrence's *Women in Love* (1920), indispensable for scholarly study, restores the extensively revised and frequently tampered-with text of his greatest novel. It includes Lawrence's Foreword, two discarded chapters, a forty-page introduction on the complex publishing history, sixty pages of explanatory notes, forty pages of textual variants, and a stout binding that could survive a tiger's bite.

The obituary by his writer-friend Catherine Carswell, written in March 1930 when Lawrence was being reviled by his contemporaries, sums up his achievement and character: "He wrote something like three dozen books, of which even the worst pages dance with life that could be mistaken for no other man's, while the best are admitted, even by those who hate him, to be unsurpassed. He was without vices, with most human virtues, the husband of one wife, scrupulously honest." □

FILM

MISSED MISCHIEF

John Simon

I READ ABOUT thirty pages of *Bright Lights, Big City* before the rightful owner of that particular copy of Jay McInerney's novel reclaimed it, and I never felt impelled to pursue the matter. It seemed to me like a reasonably competent piece of cheeky postgraduate writing: Holden Caulfield Gets Older But Doesn't Grow Up, yuppie subdivision, with lots of coke-snorting and girl-chasing, but nobody—least of all the novelist—concerned with where the money for this lifestyle was coming from. There were some fairly clever verbal tricks and, had I gotten further into it, I might have enjoyed, I suspect, the author's account of his fictional alter ego's misadventures as a fact-checker for the not very fictional

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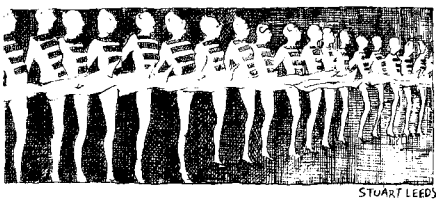
Gotham magazine, McInerney having spent half a year in *The New Yorker*'s awesome fact-checking department.

But, like so many novels whose stock-in-trade is the monologue of the writer/hero replete with cute observations about what's going on around and inside him, this one does not translate well to the screen. McInerney, who is credited with the screenplay, and his director, James Bridges, have tried to preserve some of the book's hallmarks via the intertitles and the narration in the second person singular: the novelist/narrator cozying up to, yet finally disassociating himself from, the hero through this somewhat hectoring, hortatory chumminess. (Actually, that second person singular comes from an early novel of Michel Butor, but no matter; it's a device that can work in a novel but cannot be sustained on film, where its unavoidable intermittencies make it seem strained and mildly ludicrous.)

The story covers a week in the life of Jamie Conway (in the book, the "you" had no name, which made him more piquantly autobiographical) as he moons over his lost Amanda, the fashion-model wife who left him; as he discos and parties and dopes up with his friend Tad Allagash, the Vergil to his Dante through the late-night downtown scene; as he mishandles his overpedantic research assignment at *Gotham* and loses his job; as he meets a sweet Princeton philosophy student who exudes "good womanhood" even as Amanda exuded "bad"; and as he finally comes to terms with his mother's slow and painful death from cancer, which keeps haunting him in neatly spaced flashbacks throughout the movie.

Some reviewers thought the gravity of these flashbacks, the pious overspecificity of this grief clashing with the more generalized juvenile *weltschmerz* dimly attributed to the breakup of the juvenile marriage, tipped the movie into an unwelcome, bottom-heavy self-pity. I myself found these scenes no different from the rest: glossy portentousness converging with glossy shallowness on a collision course that wrecks them both. I gather that the book wanted to be more fun than "heavy," but the movie tries to be edifying, with demolishing results.

Nothing convinces. The disco sex is too studiedly, antiglamorously lurid; the work situation at *Gotham* is treated



with a certain reverence that takes most of the satire out of it; the dope-taking is continuous but without noticeably lightening anyone's head any more than his pocketbook; the brief retrospect on the marriage does not tell us enough to sympathize with Jamie's obsession to track down Amanda; and the dopeless but dopy scenes with the angelic Princeton girl can't put a tiger in this leaky tank. Even Gordon Willis, who has shot New York City so dazzlingly in the past (notably for Woody Allen), doesn't seem to have his heart or his light meter in it any more, and the picture has an unaromatically anywhereish look about it until redemption and peace descend on our hero on Gansevoort Pier as he eats a piece of fresh bread he pays for dearly while enjoying the (in more ways than one) gratuitous dawn light suffusing his sky, his city, his life.

It might have been more bearable if Jamie were not played by Michael J. Fox, who invests everything he does with a kind of spiritual baby-fatty puppydoggishness that could give lessons in stickiness to flypaper. Shorter in stature than any of the girls he sighs up at, and saturated with a sweetness that with all his good will he cannot make curdle, he doesn't allow you to forget for a moment that all his problems could be settled by the right date for the junior prom. Neither Tracy Pollan, as his good angel, nor Phoebe Cates, as his bad one, gets a chance to act, which does not, however, prevent Miss Cates from proving that such a chance would be wasted on her. As the supposedly wicked Tad—though the movie makes him quite nice and harmless—Kiefer Sutherland is certainly better than Fox; Swoosie Kurtz, as an oozingly sympathetic checking-department colleague, is so patient you wonder what she's doing off a monument; Frances Sternhagen and John Houseman are suitably stuffy *Gotham*ites, though Jason Robards may be a mite too precious as a nonstop guzzler and name-dropper on the editorial staff. As the dying mother, Dianne Wiest agonizes philosophically and philosophizes agonizingly with considerable poise.

But what does it all come to? The movie tries to capture the mood of a moment that is already gone in a moralistic style that is primly postmodern; it suffers simultaneously from datedness and prolepsis. And a kind of lightweight heavyhandedness.

A MORE ADULT form of bygone amorality is purportedly recreated in *White Mischief*, about the dirty doings among the rich and idle British colonists in Kenya's Happy Valley, while their compatriots back in blitz-riddled Britain kept desperately extinguishing the home fires the Luftwaffe was showering on them. Here, however, a bunch of wealthy landowners, many of them black sheep of aristocratic families, play while their black servants work. The favorite games, aside from sports, are orgies, dope and drink, adultery, and shooting—whether game, pineapples set up by native retainers who very nearly become targets themselves, or the occasional spouse or spouse's lover seems to matter only marginally.

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The climactic event is the still officially unsolved murder on January 24, 1941, of Josslyn Hay, 39, 22nd Earl of Erroll, found gunned down at night in his car not far from the estate of Sir Henry John (Jock) Delves Broughton, 52, whose 27-year-old wife, Diana, a gorgeous adventuress who had only recently married him for his money, was planning to elope with the penniless but irresistible earl, apparently the first man she had given rather than sold herself to. Jock Broughton, who was arrested for the murder, was cleared by a jury of his peers from the peerage—that was the way of British Africa; the reportedly fine book about the case, *White Mischief* by James Fox, does not purport to solve it. The film, based too loosely or not loosely enough on the book, hints broadly by various melodramatic means, but even so remains confused, flimsy, and enervating. Since every woman and her brother in Kenya got somehow involved with Josslyn, everybody gets a chance to act suspiciously and weirdly; but since all the characters are just creepy or pitiful bundles of attitudes, their innocence or guilt, like everything else about them, remains a matter of perfect indifference.

The film's selling point is manifestly decadence, but Michael Radford, who directed and, with Jonathan Gems, wrote the script, hasn't a clue to how to go about selling it. Most of his colonists are too physically unappetizing to make their stagy carryings-on seem sexy; on the other hand, the writing and directing are too clumsy to make the orgying satirical and amusing in sufficient degree. It all comes out jaded and stultifying, which may be what it was for the participants (though much of it struck me as unbelievable), but why should *we* be subjected to it at length?

That leaves the central triangle in which Jock (Joss Ackland) acts either arrogant or abject, Josslyn (Charles Dance) comes across far too sleazy and colorless to be a great seducer even in Kenya, and Diana (Greta Scacchi) is beautiful in a cold, disembodied way, and takes her clothes off like clockwork. But the sex scenes—even the passionate ones, never mind the passionless—are directed, too, with the mechanistic precision of a piece of clockwork, and emerge as exciting as a life class in art school. And there are not even enough scenic views of

Africa to make the film rewarding as a travelogue. George Fenton's period music, however, and some of the clothes do have the right spirit.

There are two performances worth noting. Joss Ackland, an excellent actor, manages to infuse genuine, understated feeling into the role of Jock whenever the writing or directing doesn't get in the way. And Trevor Howard makes his last appearance here as a loyal but warped old friend of Jock's, a decrepit landowner who indulges in voyeuristic practices. It is not a glorious way for this great actor to have gone out, and he looks sick in (and perhaps also of) the part, but you can still sadly watch him give it his tired, gallant best. Trevor Howard was one of the cinema's supreme artists. □

SOUND ON DISC

DUKE, DJANGO, AND THROTTLEBOTTOM

Ralph de Toledano

EDWARD KENNEDY ELLINGTON, otherwise known as the Duke, occupied a very special place in jazz. Almost everything he put his hand to—studio recordings, concerts, etc.—has been immortalized. And most of it almost certainly deserved preservation. The distinctive Ellington beat, his orchestral palette, and the voices of the musicians he recruited for his successive bands are part of the legacy of jazz—and those of us who were there are taken back to the excitement of the Thirties and Forties.

There are those who argue that the Ellington sidemen—clarinet Barney Bigard, alto-saxophone Johnny Hodges, trumpets Cootie Williams and Rex Stewart, to name but four—contributed more to the Ellington *œuvre* than the Duke himself. But those of us who watched the Ellington orchestra at work in the recording studio know that, whatever great solos and great ideas began with these sidemen, the *gestalt* was the Duke's. He could walk in with a few ideas that had come to him on the A Train—ideas scrawled on the back of an envelope—and music was born.

I note this not only in rebuttal to some foolish current writing but also as an introduction to a group of recordings that grew out of the Ellington musical *Jump for Joy*, which invigorated Hollywood in 1941. The idea for that revue came from my cousin Paul Francis Webster, one of the very fine lyricists produced by American popular music—and dancers, singers, and other assorted performers added their bit. But the Duke's stamp is on everything. Sadly, no original-cast recordings were made, but what had been engraved on shellac by Ellington and by others involved has been lovingly and excellently put together at the Smithsonian by Martin Williams. The re-mastered shellacs include the work of the Ellington orchestra—with Ivy Anderson on the beautiful "I Got It Bad (And That Ain't Good)," Joe Turner doing his blues, and the Ellington band of that era, which included Ben Webster on tenor sax, in response. This Smithsonian production is both history and wonderful listening.

□ In 1936, when Decca issued the first of the Hot Club of France Quintette recordings in the United States, the name of Django Reinhardt was not a household word even among the cookstoves of the jazz cognoscenti. It did not take long for Django, a French gypsy who had learned his jazz from phonograph records, to be recognized as one of the great guitar players. And with him was Stephane Grappelli, a *hot* fiddle player who had studied his Armstrong and made an unlikely string instrument growl a better jazz than Eddie South or Joe Venuti. Django nurtured his music in the *boîtes* of Paris—and as expatriate American jazzmen flocked to France, he became a part of that bilingual and biracial group that played on both banks of the Seine.

Now DRG Recordings (130 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019) has brought together on seven boxed LPs much of Django Reinhardt's out-

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put, from his strummings with singers like Jean Sablon to the full-bodied jazz made with such greats as Coleman Hawkins and Bill Coleman. Some of this is "chamber jazz" but much of it might have been recorded in Harlem. And through it all we can hear the rich textures of Django's guitar and his robust attack. The album is called *Djangologie/U.S.A.*, and it is a tribute to those who, impelled by Hugues Panassie and Charles Delaunay, took their cuttings of American jazz, planted them on French soil, and brought them to flower.

☐ *Of Thee I Sing* played for 441 performances, *Let 'Em Eat Cake* for ninety. Both were written by George S. Kaufman and Morrie Ryskind, with music and lyics by George and Ira Gershwin. In a way, they were cut from the same satirical cloth. But *Of Thee I Sing* was a lovable spoof, written at a time when the country had not yet felt the full impact of the Depression. It proposed a presidential candidate with a one-plank platform: love. The Vice President was so little known that he could not get a library card. *Let 'Em Eat Cake* was a product of the 1932 election, when FDR swept the country by preaching the hatred of Herbert Hoover. What had been gentle satire developed an edge, and Broadway was looking for escapism. Yet both musical comedies introduced a new dimension to the art—a style that found its apotheosis in the Rodgers & Hart *Pal Joey*.

And even *Joey* was ahead of its time, failing the first time around because of its sardonic humor. This Kaufman-Ryskind-Gershwin collaboration, however, deserves immortality—above all for the Gershwin score and the wonderfully apposite lyrics of his brother Ira. They have been beautifully recreated by CBS Records which captures the spirit far more than did the 1950s revival of *Of Thee I Sing* with Jack Carson. Morrie Ryskind, who did so much for the world of laughter in his scripts for the Marx brothers, would have loved it—as I did and, I am sure, you will.

☐ The musical comedy, along with jazz, is America's unique tribute to Euterpe. Like all real art, both speak out in voices that reach both the *demos* and the cognoscenti. They live in a land of reality and a realm of myth. Those who developed jazz from its New Orleans beginnings were twice as tall as their fellow musicians, and they came from all parts of the country. So we had Louis Armstrong and Jelly Roll Morton and Sidney Bechet from New Orleans; Duke Ellington from Washington; Count Basie from Kansas City; Bix Beiderbecke from Davenport, Iowa—and this is an incomplete roll. And there is Chet Baker, trumpet, from the Pacific Coast. He has not taken the whole jazz world in his arms like the others I have mentioned; he is a kind of beluga, but he is appreciated wherever he is heard.

Mosaic Records, which has recovered from oblivion the great recordings of Bechet and Art Hodes, has given us three LPs of Chet Baker. It has used the tapes made by Pacific Jazz, without attempting to doctor them in any way—and the effect is outstanding. At some point, I shall return to Chet Baker. But I hope that this brief mention will lead you to him unaided. Mosaic Records can be found at 197 Strawberry Hill Avenue, Stamford, Conn., 06902. Need I say more? ☐

DELECTATIONS

THE REWARDS OF THRIFT

Nika Hazelton

LIKE EVERYBODY who drinks wine with every meal (except breakfast, I hasten to add, lest you get the wrong idea about our way of living), I am forever on the lookout for wines that are good and inexpensive—in that order. However, constant thrift makes possible the occasional splurge; so today I shall write about wines that are good though not cheap. Among them is a dry Johannisberg Riesling the equal of any wine of its kind from the Moselle region in Germany, home of the very best Rieslings. The wine comes from the Finger Lakes region of Upstate New York, and it is made by Hermann Wiener, who also produces Chardonnay, champagne made in the traditional French way, and some late-harvest Johannisberg Riesling that tastes very different and is sweeter than the first one I mentioned.

Hermann Wiener is a tall, handsome bachelor, who was born about forty years ago in the Moselle region of West Germany of a family that has been in the wine-making business for over three hundred years. He established his vineyard on Seneca Lake in the early 1970s, and quickly became the leading maker of white wines in New York State. How did he do it? By using only vinifera grapes, vinifera being the variety of grape grown in Europe—in short, the variety used in any wine worth drinking. (The best wines in the world, including those

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of California, Oregon, and Washington, are made from vinifera grapes.) Growing vinifera can be tricky when the climate is not all it should be. Most Upstate New York winemakers did not believe that vinifera could withstand the region's cruel, long winters. But Wiener proved them wrong: thanks to his special care, his vinifera grapevines survived the cold. He then started a nursery of vinifera cuttings that became known for its excellence throughout the United States. Wiener ships out about half a million cuttings every year to vineyards all over the country.

I saw his seventy or so acres of grapevines when I visited the Wiener winery last year. It is a lovely place. On the steep hills overlooking bucolic Keuka Lake stands a rather elegant barn, which houses the winery offices and the technical wine-making operations. Hermann was then redoing an old square house nearby, where he now lives; when I was there, he still had his quarters on the second floor of the wine barn. Here Wiener makes his fabulous white wines, which sell for $10 to $12 a bottle. If you like the true taste of Chardonnay and Ries-

THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

IN *Moscow Meets Main Street* (The Media Institute, 3017 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007; $12.95), Ted J. Smith III offers an explanation for wide-spread popular resentment of our national purveyors of news and opinion. His book is a first-rate, elegantly written inquiry, centered on two case-studies reflecting the national television networks' treatment of news stories concerning the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. In these examples, Smith thinks, the basis for the pervasive but inchoate belief that the media pose a threat to both American democracy and American defense is discoverable.

According to John Corry, a formidable television critic for the *New York Times* who contributes a stylish and tough-minded introduction to the book, "Perhaps the single most dramatic finding in this . . . work is that, from 1981 to 1985, there was a 550 per cent increase in the number of times Soviet citizens appeared on American network evening news broadcasts. Glasnost? Hardly. Cultural exchange? Not much. Most of the Soviet citizens were government officials. I am not sure I know all that this means . . . but obviously we are in a new age of information. Soviet apologists can speak to us over television with comparative ease; constant viewers may know the faces of Vladimir Posner, say, or Georgi Arbatov or Gennadi Gerasimov, as well as they know the faces of most of the President's Cabinet." These men —"trained propagandists" for the Soviet Union, in Pat Buchanan's pungent phrase—for some years have been allowed by the three major networks something like equal opportunity (if not equal time) to present the Soviet side of major international disputes to tens of millions of Americans, under circumstances that suggest that their statements carry the same moral and intellectual authority as those of American officials.

Perhaps the most notorious example is ABC's decision to invite Vladimir Posner, of Radio Moscow—along with Representative Jim Wright and a number of TV journalists—to comment on President Reagan's speech of February 26, 1986, in which he asked for public support for an 8 per cent increase in military spending. In this instance, the flagrancy of the idea, underscored by David Brinkley's spoon-fed questions to Mr. Posner, who was happy to respond with predictable lies, half-truths, and evasions, outraged even the American press, although the two other networks supported their competitor ("It is part of what we do," as ABC News Vice President Richard Wald explained). Another instance, or string of them—comprising Mr. Smith's second case study—is the networks' treatment of the destruction of Korean Airlines Flight 007 by a Russian fighter on August 31, 1983. Two days after the tragedy, and one day after President Reagan's announcement that the flight had been shot down by a Soviet pilot, the Soviet Union launched a vicious propaganda attack, in which it maintained that 007 had been a spy plane for the United States and that the Soviet interceptor had recognized it as such. Smith argues that the spy-story version, though absurd on its face, was nevertheless pressed by the Soviets in order to facilitate the acceptance of a slightly less exculpatory explanation: namely, that they *thought* 007 to be spying, and destroyed it in honest error. The Reagan Administration's official position was that, while there was good reason to suspect the Soviets of knowing or at least suspecting the plane was a commercial airliner, and attacking it anyway, it was possible that they simply hadn't known or cared—that they were guilty, in other words, of either murder or criminal negligence. Despite the reasonableness of the American position, however, and the comparative unreasonableness of the Soviet one, the American networks, for the next 12 months, constantly announced "findings" compatible with the Soviet version, which they presented without criticism or comment, while simply ignoring the American explanation. Mr. Smith describes such practices as representative of what he calls "the New Objectivity."

The New Objectivity, he believes, combines the neutrality of the "old" journalistic objectivity with the "reformist zeal and commitment to deeper . . . truth" of the New Journalism. The new ideal is "skeptical objectivity," according to which the enlightened journalist "advocates no positive position whatsoever, not even the verities of his own culture, but instead criticizes all those proposed by others." Skeptical objectivity is culturally relative, and therefore supranational; it is also fundamentally nihilistic, as skepticism always is when placed in the service of some ideal of perfection. "If this analysis is correct," Smith concludes, "it means that we face a profound dilemma. On the one hand, if the press continues its current practices American culture could be destroyed, or gravely weakened. On the other hand, popular reaction in the defense of culture could destroy, or at least curtail, freedom of the press. Given this choice, there are several reasons to believe that the more likely casualty is freedom of the press."

Moscow Meets Main Street is a fine book, indispensable to friends, as well as critics, of the American media. □

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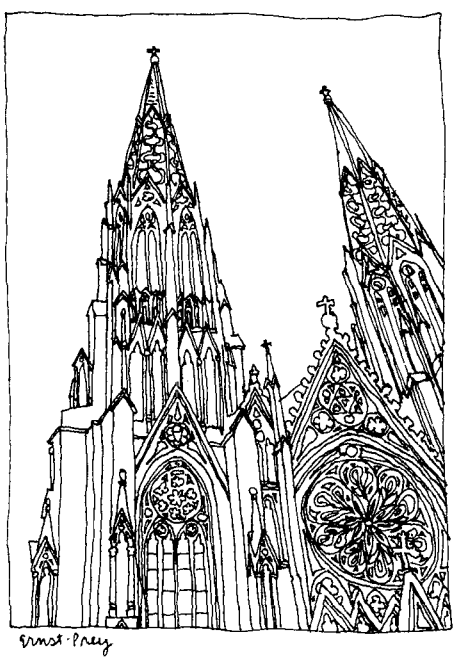
ling, the Wiener wines will make you as happy as their finest European counterparts can.

SOME YEARS ago, I visited the Max Chapoutier family in Tain-l'Hermitage, in France's Rhône Valley. I had been impressed with the Chapoutier wines for a long time and I wanted to see how a major winery—which remains, 180 years after its founding, a completely family-owned and -run enterprise—would do in making the legendary red wines of the Rhône, such as the Côtes-Rotie, the Hermitages, the Crozes-Hermitage, the St. Joseph, and the Chateauneuf-du-Pape. Well, the wines were super—rich, rich, rich as they should be; these were Rhône reds made to utter perfection. I wondered whether the fact that Chapoutier makes them the old-fashioned way, overseeing the smallest detail of the operation, could be largely responsible for the success of his wines. Max is a short, lively man married to a truly wonderful woman, the German-born Giseal, who has become a good friend of mine. Recently, at one of our New York Winewriters lunches, Max Chapoutier revealed he is making two new wines, with the confusing names of Grande Cuvée and Grande Cuvée Humerote, which are non-vintage variations on his internationally known white Chante-Alouette, the red La Sizeranne—both Hermitages—and the red La Bernardine, a Chateauneuf-du-Pape. I cannot keep all the Chapoutier wines straight, but I do know, from personal experience and from serving them to friend and foe, that any bottle whose label bears the name M. Chapoutier is filled with strong, mouthfilling, unforgettable wine. The Chapoutier wines are imported by Heublein, and they cost between $18 and $40 a bottle. They are not cheap, but by Jove, they are worth every penny if you are looking for the best product of the Rhône Valley in a good year. □



BOOKS IN BRIEF

The World and Richard Nixon, by C. L. Sulzberger (Prentice Hall, 320 pp., $18.95)

C. L. SULZBERGER has written a balanced, if somewhat superficial, analysis of the foreign-policy record of the Nixon Presidency, including such topics as the fall of Allende in Chile, the dispute between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus, the opening to China, shuttle diplomacy in the Middle East, U.S.-Soviet détente, and the war in Indochina. Nixon is given high marks as a foreign-policy conceptualizer and strategist; Henry Kissinger is praised for his negotiating and tactical skills. There are no new revelations in this book, and very few novel insights. Sulzberger quotes extensively from personal interviews with the former President, and borrows generously from Nixon's post-presidential writings and Kissinger's memoirs, but he does not accept their arguments or versions of events uncritically. For example, while Sulzberger agrees that Congress, by limiting and eventually cutting off aid to our South Vietnamese ally, deserves a large share of the blame for the failure of the "Vietnamization" policy, he also faults Nixon, always an astute politician, for not recognizing the inevitable political emptiness of his "guarantee" to the South Vietnamese leadership. The author does not hide his sympathy and admiration for Nixon, portraying him as a tragic figure—skilled, knowledgeable, and respected on the international stage, but uncertain and often reviled at home. It is Sulzberger's belief that "Nixon will be less remembered by history for his dismal role in Watergate and his defeat in Vietnam than for his visionary view and steady hand in defining and implementing the role of the United States at a crucial time in world affairs . . ." I think that is an accurate assessment. But I would add an important caveat: In the area of U.S.-Soviet relations, it is arguable that the Nixon-Kissinger policy of détente encouraged unattainable expectations and dangerous illusions about the nature of the superpower rivalry.

FRANCIS P. SEMPA

The Launching of Modern American Science: 1846-1876, by Robert V. Bruce (Knopf, 446 pp., $30)

THIS FASCINATING, scholarly, but extremely well-written book tells how science came of age in America, changing from the pastime of amateurs into an organized profession. Professor Bruce, a Boston University don with degrees in mechanical engineering and history, has the storyteller's gift: he has built a fascinating mosaic from thousands of dry, historical details. As with just about everything else, early American scientists looked to Europe for inspiration and guidance. Gradually, however, a distinctly American science came into being. As Bruce says, "Scientific emphasis, style, and insti-

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tutions bear the stamp of a nation's culture and circumstances." At first, science did not make much of an impression in America. In 1846, "out of a population of twenty million, there were only seven to eight hundred men who had published or would ever publish a scientific article or book." But, twenty years later, a young American astronomer wrote: "If we do not hitch unto the moon and quarry our granite there, it will not be the fault of the Yankees." Yankees is the right word. For a long time, American science was pretty much a Northern, white-male monopoly. With rare exceptions, "for a woman to aspire to serious scientific work was deemed especially grotesque, unseemly, hopeless, and impermissible." The West had other things on its mind and Southern science was such that "the University of Georgia faced facts and ruled that failure in mathematics and science (a third of all courses) should not keep a student from rising with his class." (And this was before big-time college football.) *Launching* is not just scientific history, but cultural history as well. Professor Bruce shows how science was the rudder that changed the course of America. Those stern, high-collared, bewhiskered gentlemen pictured in the book were pioneers as much as Kit Carson and Daniel Boone, and their influence was far greater.

JACK D. KIRWAN

HODEL

(Continued from page 33)

coalition *could* break down if the Republican Party begins to believe that there is some inherent inconsistency in its coalition. Perhaps with that in mind, pundits—still pursuing tactic #2—are offering a veritable menu of "choices" conservatives allegedly must make. A *Wall Street Journal* article, for example, tells us that conservatives "have to choose whether to give a greater voice to the Religious Right or to young professionals who twenty years ago might have been lured into the liberals' camp but who today worry about issues of economic growth."

Nonsense! We do not have to choose between the different agendas of the component parts of the conservative movement. A major political party not only can but should deal with a large variety of the problems and issues that confront our society. Voters who identify with conservative candidates primarily because they want economic growth are also concerned about the quality and moral content of the education their children receive—as William Bennett points out, "Everybody cares about their kids." And social conservatives who joined the party mainly because they don't want to be junior partners in a political coalition that includes NOW and the National Gay & Lesbian Task Force can also agree that the answer is less, not more, federal intrusion into our lives.

On specific issues, conservatives may well disagree among themselves. Then Republican leaders will be challenged to accommodate, lest they be forced to choose between, disparate points of view. That's the function of leadership.

But the surest road to GOP defeat is to lose confidence in the essential *rightness* and *viability* of the conservative coalition—which brought America peace and prosperity, and the Republican Party out of the wilderness. Our enemies are engaged in what I believe is a calculated effort to split the conservative coalition. The stakes are far too high to allow them to succeed. □

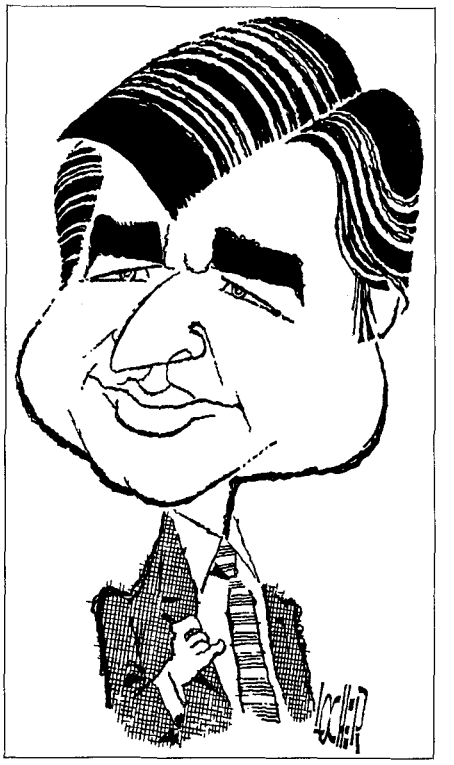
BROOKHISER

(Continued from page 45)

felt like a center for the Knicks. The Greeks had a band—not a singer, an electric guitar, and a percussion machine, but an honest-to-God band, with trumpets and trombones, bass drum and cymbals, that played thumping, last-century marches.

Dukakis made the obligatory reference to Cyprus. In the New York homestretch, it seemed to be the only foreign-policy issue he truly knew about. He was hazy on who demanded what as preconditions for Israeli-Palestinian talks, and he waffled on America's response to the Iranian mining in the Gulf.

In Astoria, all sour thoughts were banished. It was perhaps the only crowd in America that could genuinely like him, and he, in response, truly loosened the plates of his carapace. "The sweetest honey," he said, "is made only slowly"—and he repeated the proverb in Greek—"and when we win the primary, the nomination, and the Presidency, it's going to be very sweet indeed." If Dukakis could bottle what he had that night, and sip it from now until November, he could make George Bush sweat.



THE CAMPAIGN winds on, but New York has her madness and her politics still. Three prominent locals were left wounded on the field.

Mayor Koch, the New Yorker who seems most hurt, may not in fact be so badly off. His anti-Jackson tub-thumping honed the loathing of hostile blacks and liberals to razor sharpness, and they vow to get him in 1989, the next mayoral election. But then, they vowed to get him in 1985. It's not as if New York City is bursting with political talent.

If there were justice for campaign media men, David Garth, who handled the hapless Al Gore, would be selling dictionaries. A fellow kibitzer defended Garth to me on the grounds that he had boosted Gore from 5 per cent to 10 per cent. Well, swell. Gore needed 20 per cent. Twice not enough still wasn't enough.

Smirched every bit as badly was Mario Cuomo. His game of not-so-hard-to-get finally came to annoy even his greatest boosters, the press. Martin Nolan, of the *Boston Globe*, referring to his incessant phone interviews, called him the "Martha Mitchell of the Eighties." Perhaps Cuomo figures they'll all be back in a few years anyway. Perhaps he's right. □

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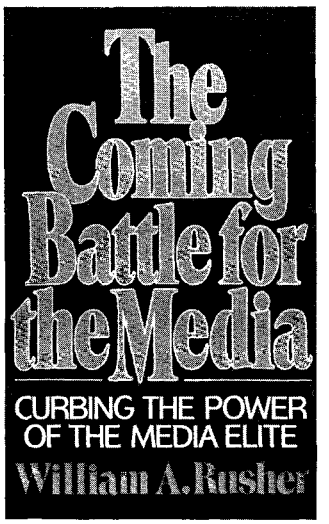
You won't hear about this important book in the news

THE COMING BATTLE FOR THE MEDIA

Curbing the Power of the Media Elite

William Rusher



The liberal media elite would like to ignore William Rusher's provocative new book which exposes the increasing liberal bias in news reporting and the ways in which the media elite mislead America.

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- The liberal media elite *created* the Iran/contra scandal.
- When 240 journalists were asked to describe themselves, 54 percent described themselves as liberal while only 19 percent considered themselves right of center!
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Rusher documents hundreds of cases of liberal bias—not exceptions but the rule of pervasive and offensive liberal bias in the media.

He recommends a system of checks and balances: statutes allowing the right of reply (in which individuals and organizations would have equal access to the target audience) and of privacy—both of which could be enacted without running afoul of the First Amendment—plus new Supreme Court adjudications and, where appropriate, action by the President in his capacity as commander in chief.

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Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

MORTON KONDRACKE:

"It Needs Saying"

Liberals ought to apply the same degree of skepticism to the man who went to Cuba and chanted, "Long live Fidel Castro! Long live Che Guevara!" Judging from his experience, his views, and character, Jackson is not qualified to be President.

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(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. NR reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. —Pub.)

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ELON ON ISRAEL

NEW YORK, APRIL 20

THERE HAS been much commentary celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the founding of Israel. And not entirely ceremonial, given the crisis of the occupied territories. No one has spoken more trenchantly than Amos Elon, who appeared on *60 Minutes*.

Amos Elon's credentials as an enthusiastic citizen of Israel are quite simply unimpeachable. He is of course a renowned author (*Israelis: Founders and Sons*) and intellectual. Of special interest to those viewing him on *60 Minutes* was the gravitas he brought to the question. One imagines that that was the way Seneca the Lawmaker must have looked: ardent but composed, fluent without being facile, deeply pained and yet determined to recapture a dream he felt was slipping through Israeli fingers.

Elon began by telling interrogator Harry Reasoner that it was nonsense for Americans, particularly Jewish Americans, to take the position that they should keep their hands away from Israeli policy. Israeli policy, said Elon, is very much a matter of concern to America, in part because we are the critical sponsors of the nation of Israel, in part because we have for that reason a critical responsibility to use our good offices and our muscle to encourage humane Israeli policies.

The trouble with many American Jews, said Elon, is that having conquered their environment and won a secure place in the American scene, they "live like WASPs, but vote like Puerto Ricans." It is too much the fashion to suppose that because a policy is sanctioned by the government of Israel, it is a policy that should evoke loyalty from Jews around the world.

Amos Elon, seated behind his desk in Israel, told his vast audience that under existing policies, Israel faces one of two futures. "I really do not see that there is a third alternative." One future is the transformation of the area into one more Lebanon, which is what would happen if Israel annexed the West Bank and the Gaza strip. The second alternative, which is a continuation of present policies—occupation and suppression—would mean simply that Israel had become another South Africa, with one law for citizens of one race, a second law for others. To go in either of these directions, Elon said, is to abort the dream that guided the founding of Israel.

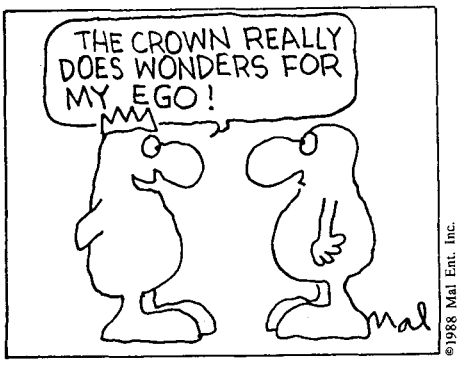
Elon touches on the most critical point when he reminds us that the constant stress on Israel's democracy can be deceptive. Sure, he says, Israel is a democratic country and the Arab states are not. But what if, under the rubric of democracy, policies issue that have the quality of despotic and totalitarian regimes?

Israel has certain problems, manifest in the split between Labor and the Likud and the representation within the Knesset of such abusive movements as Meir Kahane's, which forthrightly declares the Palestinians to be aliens who should be deported.

But the special problem raised by Elon is the tendency to ideologize democracy to the point of committing oneself to assume that that which democracy brings forth is deserving of universal support. We have in the United States at the moment a vigorous movement that asks for Jesse Jackson for President. It is all but inconceivable that the Jackson movement will prevail, but what if it did?—and if, in a few years, he did to the economy what Perón did to Argentina's, and to our foreign policy what Léon Blum's Popular Front government did for France? Would we, in virtue of having fastidiously enacted all the disciplines of democratic government, have earned the respect of civilized Israelis?

A profound point, received with special hospitality in these quarters given my own planted position, namely that it is more important to ask what a society votes for, than whether a society has the vote. And the despair of Elon and many others is that in America there is not nearly so emphatic a division on Israel's policy in the occupied territories as there is within Israel itself. For that reason, Elon and so many others feel isolated and, evidently, resentful—resentful that the root question of loyalty to Israel should be so heavily identified in the United States as support for whatever Israel does. One listens to Al Gore Jr. for a half hour and becomes convinced that if Israel set up extermination camps for Palestinians, Gore would applaud, at least while conducting a primary campaign in New York City.

Elon's jeremiad carries special strength, drawing as it does on Israeli history. One hears the sympathetic detonations reaching back to the Old Testament. "Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people!" □



JESSE JACKSON IN NEW YORK

NEW YORK, APRIL 22

IT'S PROBABLY true, to borrow from Mark Twain on Wagner, that Jesse Jackson is not as bad as he sounds, but the question arises whether one really wants someone who sounds that bad nominated for President.

They say—the Jackson people say—that one should not hold against him what he has said and done in the past. But it would be easier to plead for absolution if there were a sign of contrition. There hasn't been, save for Mr. Jackson's manicured distancing of himself from Louis Farrakhan (he has not denounced Farrakhan's heady anti-Semitism, he has simply denounced anti-Semitism, which is a great deal easier, and begs the point). Nor has there been any sign that Jesse Jackson is disposed to take a fresh look at the planks of his foreign policy (the Soviet Union, according to Jackson, isn't a threat, it is a "threat") or of his domestic policy (for Jackson, the economy is the creature of the Pentagon and of the very rich).

There is a certain evolution as to form, which tends to be true of everyone. But the same intellect that framed Jackson's tributes to Castro, Guevara, and Assad frames his thoughts on related matters. In the last debate he had with the other

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contenders in the New York race, the subject of terrorism came up and Jackson turned to Dukakis and said, You claim to be against terrorism. Well, if you are, do you oppose dealing with the South African government? Isn't that a terrorist regime?

Poor Dukakis, he isn't allowed, in politics, to use analytical grinders. If he had done so, one supposes, he'd have been accused of racism, or of being soft on South Africa. He mumbled something about South Africa being "akin" to a terrorist country—and was bailed out when the time ran out. Jackson should have been told that terrorism is not the national policy of South Africa, any more than it was the national policy of the Jim Crow South (the Ku Klux Klan was never an arm of government). Dukakis might have added that Jackson has no problem in praising the terrorist government of Syria, or the PLO, or—worse—the totalitarian governments behind the Iron Curtain, against none of which has Mr. Jackson ever proposed sanctions.

When Governor Cuomo weighed in on the race with his tribute to Jackson one wondered whether the political virus is lethal to the mind and the conscience. "[Jackson] addresses ideas intelligently and substantively," said Cuomo. It is very difficult to understand how such an evaluation can be made by anyone capable of rigorous thought. Jesse Jackson's analytical mode goes in for denunciations of national policy, described as "merging" the corporations to effect a "purging" of the workers to effect the "submerging" of the economy. That is the language of kindergarten teachers. Mr. Cuomo's deep thinker has proclaimed Yasir Arafat "a true hero" whose "commitment to justice is an absolute one." Mr. Cuomo's intelligent and substantive candidate has said of Fidel Castro, one of the truly finished totalitarians of the century, "Your struggle is our struggle." Mr. Cuomo tells us that "Jesse Jackson has [an] unrivaled capacity to summon passion from people who listen to him." Perhaps that was what he was doing—summoning passion—when he led the march last month at Stanford University protesting a course in Western culture, chanting, "Hey, hey, ho, ho, Western culture's got to go." If it were not for Western culture, we would be living in America as they live in Africa, and we are not referring to South Africa. Governor Cuomo concluded that Mr. Jackson "is making a unique contribution." Let us hope it proves to be unique, like George Wallace, and the candidates of the Ham and Eggs party, and the Know Nothings. It surprises that the principal Democratic figure in America (as Mr. Cuomo is thought to be) should associate himself so sycophantically with positions and analytical superficialities that either he scorns privately or else should disqualify him from being taken seriously.

And poor Senator Gore! He has to spend most of his time explaining his antecedent positions. He made a pithy remark about Jackson ("we're not choosing a preacher, we're choosing a President") which was shallow and invidious (there isn't anything wrong with preachers per se) and spent a while straightening that out. He was accused by properly indignant New York Jews of "pandering" to the Jewish vote by his near-sacramental obsequies to whatever Tel Aviv's policy was five minutes ago. And all he could think to say to insiders was, But in Iowa you praise the farmers. Don't you, in New York, praise the Jews? Murray Kempton wrote four years ago that whereas Jesse Jackson classified New York as "Hymietown," it took Walter Mondale and Gary Hart in the primary campaign to treat it as such. □

LEARNING FROM LEONA

NEW YORK, APRIL 29

LET US assume that Leona and Harry Helmsley are guilty as charged, never mind that they have pleaded not guilty and are not guilty unless convicted. So—the jury has found them guilty and the time has come for the judge to pass sentence. Mr. and Mrs. Helmsley cheated the government out of about four million dollars, the jury has ruled. There are certainly no extenuating circumstances. They didn't reroute the money to save the boat people in Indochina. They used the money to buy one more swimming pool and a dance hall for their private residence. If they had paid the taxes due, they'd have lost much less than 1 per cent of their estimated net worth of between one and two billion dollars. The jury, polled by the press, showed no inclination to mercy. "If ever anybody deserved it," one juror said, "this couple did."

And the public's reaction was, well, stonyhearted. You see, Leona Helmsley in particular had had much publicity and she was a real imperious lady, I mean, out there in the kitchens, in the lobbies, in the offices, giving orders to her huge staffs, hiring and firing without any apparent compunction . . . That is a part of the public mood. Another part is the utter contempt for the stupidity of the Helmsleys. How could *anyone* earning that kind of money make a mistake so stupid? So that when the judge bangs down the gavel and gives them two years in jail, there will be some sense of public satisfaction. The Greek idea of the collapse of the king. The bigger they come, the harder they fall.

The trouble with this is that to send the Helmsleys to jail is just plain stupid.

There are 581,609 inmates in federal and state prisons designed to hold less than half that number. Every week, 750 more people are being sent to jail than are leaving jail. The California prison population was 24,569 at the end of 1980. It is now 68,139.

And the big cry is to crack down on crack-users. If we succeeded in locating every one of them, and putting them all in jail, we would need to multiply our jail facilities by 800 per cent. Yes, there are an estimated four million people who use crack. The scale, then, of the crime problem points up with devastating force the undesirability of sending anyone to jail who is less than a violent threat to his neighbor.

The state of Minnesota has a shrewd way of handling the problem. It takes its prison resources more or less as a given. If more people are convicted than Minnesota has room for, then more people are released, to make room for the newcomers. And the sentences of judges are adjusted in accordance with the state's penological reserves. That's one way to do it, but not the smartest way to do it if you think of prison as accomplishing two purposes, the first, the punishment of the offender, the second, the protection of society. If there isn't enough room in Minnesota for the people who are likely to murder or maim, more room should be made. It's a big state.

The Helmsley case is a locus classicus—there will never again be a couple easier to punish. Instead of two years in prison (cost to the taxpayers, not counting court-costs of getting them there: about $25,000 per year—rather less than the cost, per year, of a small Helmsley hotel room), the judge could sentence them to work for two years as janitors. Not in a Helmsley hotel. That's a nice poetic thought, but they are still the legal owners of their hotels, and whatever the government fines them, it's going to be less than two billion dollars. No, it wouldn't work for them to serve as janitors in a hotel they own, whose manager they can fire at the flick of a finger. But they could work as janitors in another hotel.

Perhaps that job for half the sentence; for the other half, they might be asked to perform duties in a municipal or religious house for the homeless. The judge's imagination here should be given all the scope he wishes. But the objective would be plain: to punish the offenders; to satisfy the public that restitution has been effected and punishment meted out; and to save prison space for rapists, murderers, and muggers.

As for the Helmsleys' tax lawyer, it's good that the Helmsleys own the Empire State Building. The top floor of that building would be an appropriate place from which that lawyer could be instructed by the judge—or the Helmsleys—to jump. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

DEFINITIONS

A. The federal one is too big — GOVERNMENT (35 79 60 169 100 128 8 161 95 116)

B. Noted Roman orator — GRACCHUS (81 106 74 57 172 142 5 26)

C. Remus' twin — ROMULUS (62 124 85 41 138 114 12)

D. Town east of Olean, N.Y. — ANIO ER (91 14 22 135 55 143 130)

E. City near Ann Arbor, Mich. — [illegible] (17 115 52 171 90 137 37 11 152)

F. Newt — SALAMANDER (47 109 162 86 151 125 29 15 61 170)

G. All powerful — [illegible] (111 126 75 96 117 28 164 40 84 141)

H. Former Jets star — NAMATH (98 71 168 163 44 122)

I. Does a job on a pharaoh — [illegible] (70 88 1 16 165 157 36 56 140)

J. Crucial — [illegible]RTANT (101 30 66 159 144 123 167 10 48)

K. Venomous hole-in-the-ground — SNAKE PIT (175 92 118 32 45 19 139 63)

L. Wood finisher — STAINER (158 133 173 73 42 23 112)

M. Restrain, legally speaking — INJUNCT (150 131 4 107 27 80)

N. This day is July 1, in Canada — IGNITION (6 99 82 120 136 33 58 72)

O. Critize severely — [illegible] (24 132 76 93 2 103 49 148 64)

P. Help for one of the senses (2 words) — [illegible] (149 89 104 113 20 59 7 31 146 46)

Q. Capital of ancient Syria — ANTIOCH (83 174 38 25 129 110 53)

R. Texas gave up this to be a state — NATIONHOOD (147 54 77 127 145 153 39 18 97 65)

S. Good soldier's reward — [illegible]MENDATION (21 94 108 160 9 87 154 69 50 134 156 34)

T. Trap — [illegible]NARE (102 68 3 166 121 78 51)

U. Jungle jaunt — [illegible] (155 67 105 13 119 43)

1 T M	2 O I	3 T	4 M	5 B U	6 N D	7 P	8 A M	9 S E	10 J	11 E T	12 C S		13 U A	14 D N	15 F D		16 I M	17 E Y	18 R O	19 K
20 P I	21 S C		22 D D	23 L E	24 O C	25 Q I	26 B S	27 M I	28 G O	29 F N	30 J	31 P A	32 K	33 N I	34 S N	35 A G		36 I I	37 E N	
38 Q T	39 R H	40 G E		41 C U	42 L N	43 U I	44 H T	45 K	46 P D		47 F S	48 J T	49 O A	50 S	51 T E	52 E		53 Q H	54 R A	55 D V
56 I E		57 B C	58 N O	59 P N	60 A V	61 F E	62 C R	63 K T	64 O E	65 R		66 J	67 U A	68 T N	69 S A	70 I M	71 H A	72 N N	73 L I	74 B A
75 G N		76 O S	77 R T	78 T	79 A O	80 M N	81 B G	82 N M	83 Q A	84 G N		85 C M	86 F A	87 S N	88 I U	89 P E	90 E L		91 D A	92 K
93 O T	94 S O	95 A N	96 G I	97 R O		98 H N	99 N O	100A	101J I	102T E	103O G	104P A		105U F	106B R	107M	108S M		109F A	
110Q C	111G O	112L	113P R	114C U	115E	116A T		117G P	118K A	119U R	120N I	121T A	122H		123J T	124C O		125F A		126G
127R I	128A N	129Q O	130D		131M N	132O A	133L	134S I	135D O	136N N	137E A	138C L	139K I	140I S	141G T		142B H	143D E	144J R	145R O
	146P	147R		148O T	149P H	150M E		151F M	152E I	153R N	154S D	155U S		156S	157I F		158L S	159J O	160S M	161A E
	162F L	163H	164G T	165I I	166T N		167J	168H	169A	170F R	171E I	172B C	173L A	174Q	175K S					

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 62 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

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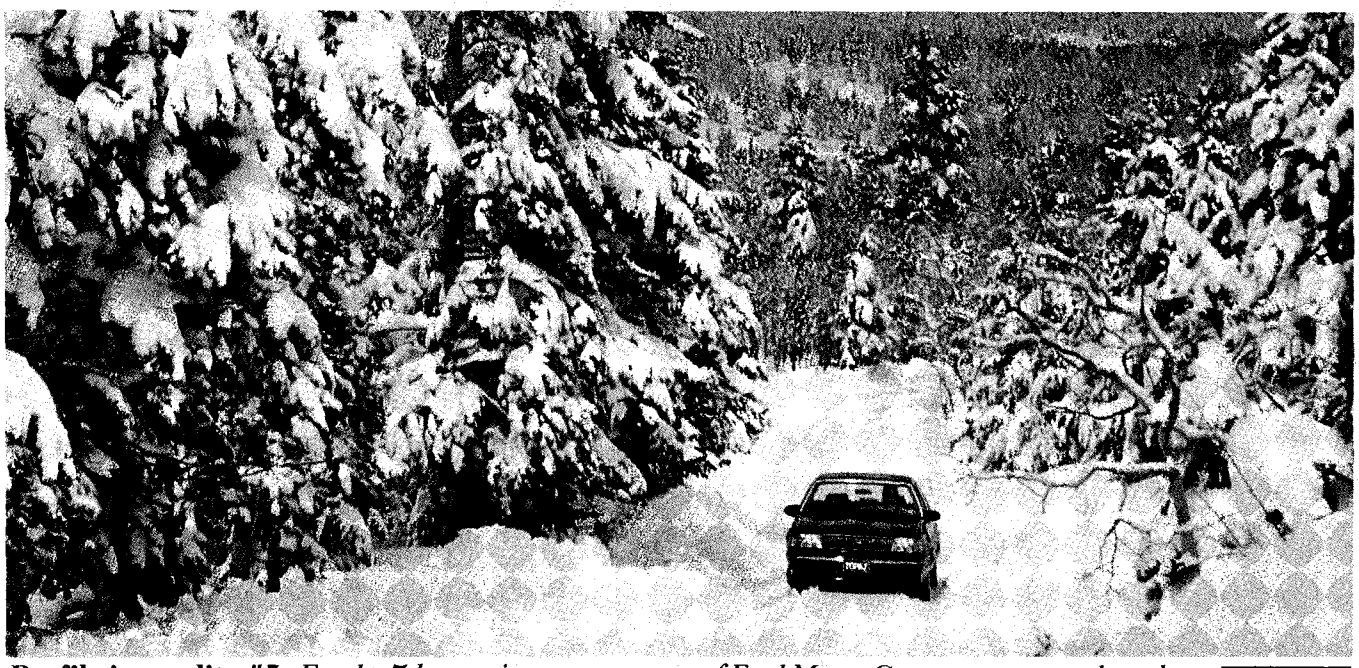

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